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THE HARLEIAN MISCELLANY

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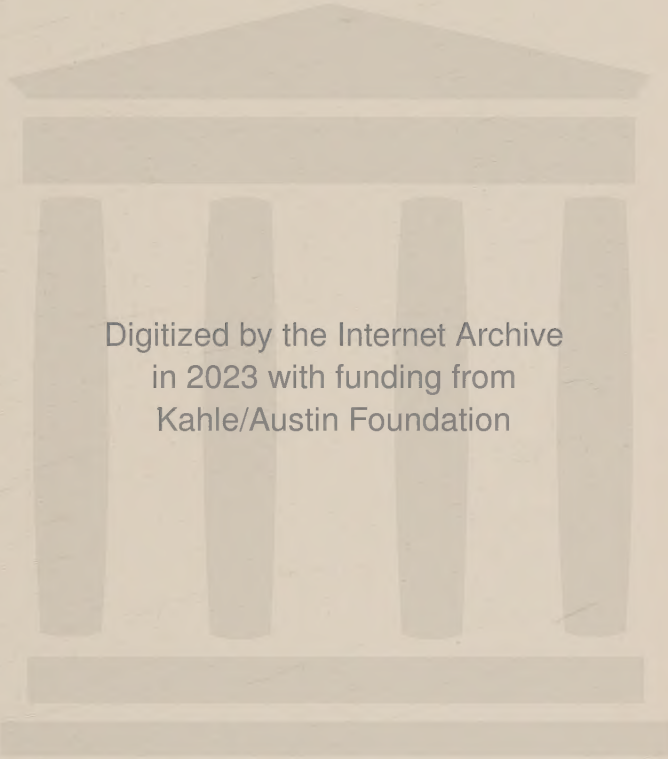
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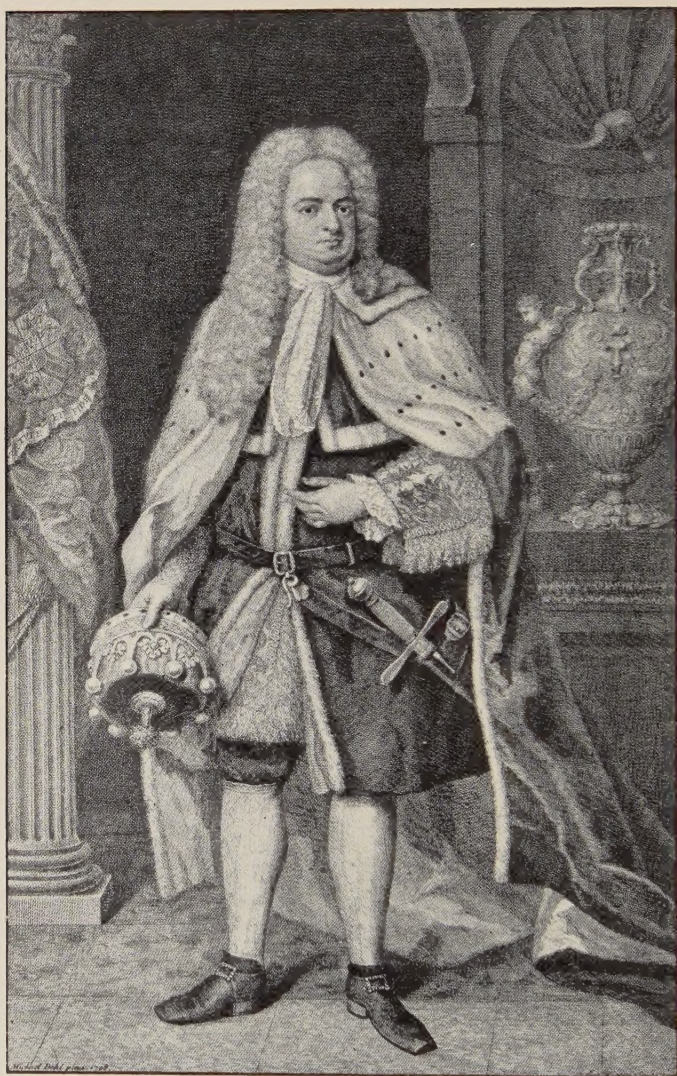
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EDWARD HARLEY
2nd Earl of Oxford

1745

[Frontispiece]

THE HARLEIAN MISCELLANY

AN ENTERTAINING SELECTION

ARRANGED, COMMENTED UPON
AND GENERALLY EDITED

BY

HENRY SAVAGE

WITH TWO PORTRAITS



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ROBERT HARLEY
1st Earl of Oxford
1711

INTRODUCTION

THE Harleian Miscellany of tracts and pamphlets selected from the library of Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford, by William Oldys, his secretary, and with an Introduction by Dr. Johnson, was first published in eight volumes 8to. during the years 1744-46. Following several new editions, it was reissued with additional matter in ten volumes 4to. during 1808-13 under the editorship of Thomas Park, and from this edition—the latest and best—the present selection has been made.

Oldys's work was first made possible by the taste of the Earl's father, the great Robert Harley who revived the Oxford title in 1711. Six years before that date Harley had made his first considerable purchase of books, forming the nucleus of what was later to be one of the world's most famous libraries. It was dispersed in 1742, the year after the death of the second Earl. A bookseller, Thos. Osborne, bought the books and pamphlets for the absurdly low sum of £13,000, the manuscripts for £10,000, going to the nation, and are now in the British Museum.

The present small book, of course, cannot pretend to give anything like an adequate summary of a work containing I know not how many subjects in ten bulky volumes of some four millions of words. But a selection is justified, as I believe, not only because the whole work is not likely to be reprinted, but because some part of it, at least, deserves to be better known outside of those worthy institutions where it is so very rarely surprised from sleep. As Professor Saintsbury has well observed: "There comes a time when, with all but the very greatest works which have been originally executed on a grand scale, it is a case for presentation

in some shortened form, or for lasting exclusion from the knowledge of generations of readers." Perhaps I may be permitted to agree with our great and scholarly critic when, having thus acknowledged necessity, he goes on to affirm that "the part can never take the place of the whole." Dull and even unintelligible as the Miscellany is at times, it would be doubtless much better in every way if it could be reissued in its entirety. I can imagine, however, the emotions of any modern publisher to whom the suggestion was made. The "wild surmise," of stout Cortez, gazing at the Pacific, would be nothing to them; and, indeed, great stoutness, both of heart and pocket, would be needed to undertake the adventure.

Here, at any rate, is some flavour of the work; its "shortened form" all too short I am aware, but I hope that what there is of it will agreeably surprise the modern reader. It certainly better enables us to realise the England of a bygone day, and, in particular, of that attractive 17th Century which, the more it is known, the more willingly, I imagine, would one stay with it in the spirit than with any other.

HENRY SAVAGE.

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THE HARLEIAN MISCELLANY

I

THE "INVINCIBLE" ARMADA

ENGLAND, think some of our modern writers, is going the way of the dead empires of other days. It is hard to be sure of it, charm Mr. Hilaire Belloc never so pessimistically. The probabilities are that at all times men have bewailed the age in which they lived, comparing it unfavourably with some former period. We are inclined to think of Elizabeth's day as being the most glorious, and in every way the best, in our history, but even at that time Englishmen are to be found dissatisfied with the condition of their nation. The bonfires were scarcely out after the defeat of the Spanish Armada when Anthony Marten, "Sewer * of her Majesty's most Honourable Chamber," was moved to issue a quarto deprecating his countrymen's "great prodigality and excess of apparel, building and dainty fare," and exhorting them to a more Spartan way of living. "But now we be all Heliogabalians," he says. "We delight altogether in strange fashions, in strange ornaments, strange stuff, strange apparel, strange diet, and in all things that be far fetched, and dear bought. If we be far from the sea, we must have fish : if we be near the sea, we must have flesh : when we have the best, and the finest, and most diversity of cloth and

* An officer who served up a feast, arranged the dishes and provided water for the hands of the guests.

colour, and of stuff made within the realm, such as our forefathers could never have ; then must we most of all seek for clothes of silk, of silver, of gold : from Spain, from Italy, from Africa, from Asia, from Calecut, from China, and from the end of the world. When we have the best meat of our own that can possibly be devised, then must we send into Flanders, into France, and into far countries, to feed our unsatiable bellies. O the miserable bondage that our nation hath so willingly submitted their minds unto ! ”

Thus Anthony Marten, hitching his wagon to a star. We must approve the spirit which demanded a high standard, but it is, as I say, hard to be sure that we are going downhill and that Englishmen as a whole are better men or worse than those burly, bearded ancestors of theirs who ventured across the seas in tiny ships and successfully defied the might of Spain. Something peculiarly illustrative of the English spirit, its devil-may-careness, humour and bravery, I heard of during the late war with the Central Powers. At a part of the line where English and German trenches were within but a few yards of each other it was an understood thing with the enemy that there was to be an occasional respite from bombing. The Englishmen, however, when bored, would get one of their number, a little Cockney, to shout insults across the narrow strip of No-man's-land, the taunts running much as follows : “ Hey, Fritz ! Call yourselves soldiers ! You blokes are only fit for the job as most of you used to have before the war—keeping a bloody dirty little barber's shop off the Tottenham Court Road ! ” And so with humourless Fritz's anger gradually rising, bang would come the bombs, the English, of course, by that time having ducked under cover to comparative safety. It was that spirit as much as anything which won the war.

What is certain is that no one with a drop of English blood in his veins could read contemporary accounts of the defeat of the Spanish Armada without a thrill of

pride. This great fleet, or as Pope Sixtus the Fifth, who had encouraged Philip of Spain to its making, termed it, "The great, noble and invincible Army, and Terror of Europe," set forth from Lisbon, under command of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, on the 19th of May, 1588. It consisted of "134 sail of tall towering ships, besides gallies, galliasses, and galleons, stored with 22,000 pounds of great shot, 40,200 quintals or hundred weights of powder, 1,000 quintals of lead for bullets, 10,200 quintals of match, 7,000 muskets and calievers, 1,000 partizans and halberts; besides double cannons, mortars, and field-pieces for a camp, upon disembarking, and a great many mules, horses, and asses, with six months provision of bread, biscuit, and wine; 60,500 quintals of bacon, 3,000 cheeses, 12,000 pipes of fresh water, besides a full proportion of other sorts of flesh, rice, beans, pease, oil, and vinegar. To which he added a great quantity of torches, lanthorns, lamps, canvass, hides, and lead, to stop leaks, &c. according to some accounts." This mighty array of "tall towering ships" was to be shattered and utterly undone, whereas the English, under their Lord High Admiral, Charles Howard, Baron of Effingham, "lost but one ship and about one hundred men only."

Fourteen of the Spanish fleet were sighted first between Ushant and Scilly, but it was not until the 19th of June that the main force was discovered "near unto the Lizard." On the 21st began the first day's fighting, the most noteworthy incident of which seems to have been the blowing up of "a great ship of Biscay, about 800 tons in burthen." It is recorded as follows by Petruccio Ubaldino, a Florentian, in a translation by A. Ryther. "The captain of the soldiers that went in her, having small regard (as is reported) of an orderly and civil life, did insolently beat a certain Flemish gunner. What cause he had, I know not, whether upon occasion of words, touching his charge, or by means of the gunner's wife, whom he had abused, according to

the custom of that nation. Whereupon, the perplexed man seeing himself among such a kind of people, as not only made him serve their turns, at their own pleasure, but disgraced him in as vile manner as if he were a slave, despairing both of life, wife, and his young daughter, and perchance rather moved with the dishonour of them, than by his own misfortunes, (which mind is many times in men of mean condition,) he set himself on fire, in a barrel of gunpowder ; procuring thereby, through the loss of his own life, and the extreme hazard of those that belonged unto him, and the loss of many men's lives besides, a cruel revenge of his injuries received by one only man. This example may serve to instruct such as command over others, how they ought to behave themselves, with less insolency : inasmuch as the mind of man is always ready to revenge, after the custom of this our bloody age, if he be not born utterly void of a quick wit, and lively spirit.

“Through this mischance of theirs, all the upper decks were blown up, all her furniture marred, and much other spoil done, besides the death and maiming of her men ; so that, being utterly unable all that night to help herself, she was succoured by the galliasses, and, for the time, saved in the body of their fleet.”

So they went at it for nearly a week, alternately fighting and resting awhile up and down the Channel, until “such a chance fell out as made frustrate the conceit of the Duke of Medina, and wholly overthrew their enterprise.” To this we shall come presently. Meanwhile, we are told that at one period “it was not possible to see, before this battle, in this sea so hard a conflict, nor so terrible a spoil of ships, by reason of the pellets that flew so thick every way. To conclude ; there was never seen so vehement a fight ; either side endeavouring, through an headstrong and deadly hatred, the other's spoil and destruction. For, albeit the musquettiers and harquebusiers were in either fleet

many in number, yet could they not be discerned or heard, by reason of the more violent and roaring shot of the greater ordnance, that followed so thick one upon another, and played so well that day, on either side, that they were thought to be equal in number to common harquebusiers in an hot skirmish."

Small wonder that a rest was needed now and again ! During one of these the Lord Admiral took occasion to honour some of his captains with knighthoods. "They were so much the more worthy," says the chronicler sapiently, "in that, being far separated from all courtly favour, which many times imparteth the chiefest honours to the least deserving men, they declared their valour in the eyes of either fleet."

The "chance which fell out" was a device which has been attributed to the great Queen herself. On the 28th of June at midnight, off Calais, fearing the intervention of the Duke of Parma, who was due to join the enemy from Flanders with "ten thousand chosen footmen," Effingham "provided eight small ships, dressed with artificial fire, to the intent to drive the same upon the Spanish fleet. This thing was diligently and effectually brought to pass, under the charge of Captain Young and Captain Prowse, two valiant and courageous men. By reason hereof, the enemy was not only inforced to break his sleep ; but, the fire coming so suddenly upon him, (not remembering himself, at the very instant time, of any other remedy, either more safe for himself, or more excusable,) to cut his cables, to let slip his anchors, and to hoist up sails, as the only way to save his fleet from so imminent and unexpected a mischief."

This was the beginning of the end. The fireships "so separated the whole fleet, that they were never more united to any purpose," and the Spaniards flew northward, the Lord Admiral following them up the North Sea to the Firth of Forth, thereafter deciding to return and leave them to a great tempest which sprang

up to further their destruction. "The fleet continued therein tossed up and down until the end of September," says Ubaldino, concluding his narration, "with fearful success and deadly shipwreck along the whole coast of Ireland; so that the Duke of Medina Sidonia was enforced to leave there behind him about the number of seventeen good ships, besides those fifteen that were thought to be lost in the months of July and August, and so return into Spain."

The appalling condition of the Spaniards, wrecked, drowned, and dying of hunger and thirst on that last dreadful journey, is vividly brought home to us by a further 1588 pamphlet entitled, "Certain Advertisements out of Ireland, &c.," wherein, among other matters, it is stated that "some were killed by the wild Irish and others by the Deputy's command; lest coming on shore, they should join with the rebels against the state; and the remainder, taking to their wrecks and boats were mostly drowned." One wild Irishman must have been more than wild, a devil indeed, lost to all sense of humanity. This monster, "one Meleghlen MacCabb, a Gallowglass, killed eighty of them with his Gallowglass axe"!

In this same pamphlet are given certain "examinations" of enemy witnesses which are illuminating. Emanuel Fremosa, a Portuguese, testifies that "it is common bruit amongst the soldiers, if they may once get home again, they will not meddle again with the English." John de la Conido makes the sinister statement, "there was an English pilot with the Duke," and John Anthonio of Genoa, that there were three. This last witness also "saith that in that day of the fight at Calais they lost four thousand men;" and that on his ship striking the rocks in the Sound of the Bleskies, whereby he alone was saved, "one of the Captains slew this examinant's father, saying he did it by treason." Another witness, John Antonio de Moniko, gives a good description of the Prince of

Ascule, King Philip's base son, who went down with the *Sancta Marie de la Rose*. "This Prince," he says, "was a slender made man, and of a reasonable stature, of twenty-eight years of age; his hair of a brown colour stroked upwards, of a high forehead, a very little beard, marquesotted; whitely-faced, with some little red on the cheeks; he was drowned in apparel of white satin for his doublet and breeches, after the Spanish fashion cut, with russet-silk stockings. When this Prince came into their ship at Calais, he was apparelled in black raised velvet laid on with broad gold lace."

A list of the Spanish losses is also given. The Armada lost "10,185 men whereof there are prisoners in England and Zealand at least 1,000; besides a great multitude of men not accounted, that were slain in the fight, and that have died of famine.' Of vessels, "32 were lost, besides many ships not yet heard of, thought to be lost."

Thus ended the great adventure. A further pamphlet gives a translated Spanish account of it, garbled to keep up the spirits of the Spaniards, and the indignant rejoinder to this "Packe of Spanish Lyes" by the translator. But the most interesting after-account is "The Copie of a Letter sent out of England to Don Bernardin Mendoza, Ambassadour in France for the King of Spaine, declaring the State of England, contrary to the Opinion of Don Bernardin, and of all his Partizans, Spaniards and others; found in the Chamber of Richard Leigh, a Seminarie Priest, who was lately executed for High Treason, committed in the time that the Spanish Armada was on the Seas." Blaming rash counsellors and lamenting "our sudden fall from an immeasurable high joy to an unmeasurable low despair," Leigh goes on to say: "I am astonished what I may best think of such a work, so long time in framing, to be so suddenly overthrown, as by no reason could proceed of men, or of any earthly power, but only of God. And if so it be, (as no body can

otherwise impute this late change and fall from our expected fortune, but to God Almighty,) then surely our case is either dangerous or doubtful how to judge thereof, whether we have been these many years in the right or not. For I do find, and know, that many good and wise men, which of long time have secretly continued in most earnest devotion to the Pope's authority, begin now to stagger in their minds, and to conceive that this way of reformation intended by the Pope's Holiness is not allowable in the sight of God, by leaving the ancient course of the church by excommunication, which was the exercise of the spiritual sword; and in place thereof to take the temporal sword, and put it into a monarch's hand to invade this realm with force and arms, yea to destroy the Queen thereof, and all her people addicted to her; which are in very truth now seen, by great proof this year, to be in a sort infinite, and invincible, so as some begin to say that this purpose by violence, by blood, by slaughter, and by conquest, agreeth not with Christ's doctrine, nor the doctrine of St. Peter, or St. Paul. And to tell your Lordship truly, I find presently a great number of wise and devout people, though they continue in their former religion, yet do they secretly condemn this intended reformation by blood and force. . . . I must need say that, in very truth, no one thing hath done at this time more hurt to the action, than the untimely hasty publishing abroad in this realm, before this army of Spain was ready to come forth to the seas, of sundry things written and put in print, and sent into this realm, to notify to the people, that all the realm should be invaded and conquered, that the Queen should be destroyed, all the nobility, and men of reputation, of honour, and wealth, that did obey her, and would defend her, or that would withstand the invasion, should be with all their families rooted out, and their places, their honours, their houses and lands bestowed upon the conquerors: things universally so odiously taken, as the hearts of all sorts

of people were inflamed ; some with ire, some with fear, but all sorts, almost without exception, resolved to venture their lives for the withstanding of all manner of conquest, wherewith every body can say this realm was not threatened these five hundred years and more.

" These reports were brought to this realm, with good credit, not in secret, but in public writings and printings, and took deep root in all kinds of people of this land. . . . By this means, this Queen and her realm, being thus forewarned and terrified, took occasion with the aid of her people, being not only firmly (as she was persuaded) devoted to her, but thoroughly irritated, to stir up their whole forces for their defence, against such prognosticated conquests ; as, in a very short time, all her whole realm, and every corner were speedily furnished with armed people on horseback, and on foot ; and those continually trained, exercised, and put into bands, in warlike manner, as in no age ever was before, in this realm. Here was no sparing of money to provide horse, armour, weapon, powder, and all necessities ; no, nor want of provision of pioneers, carriages, and victuals, in every county of the realm, without exception, to attend upon the armies. And to this general furniture every man voluntarily offered ; very many, their service personally, without wages ; others, money for armour and weapons, and to wage soldiers ; a matter strange, and never the like heard of, in this realm or elsewhere : and this general reason moved all men to large contributions, that to withstand a conquest, where all should be lost, there was no time to spare a portion.

" The numbers made ready in the realm I cannot affirm of mine own knowledge ; but I have heard it reported, when I was grieved to think the same to be so true, that there was, through England, no quarter, east, west, north, and south, but all concurred, in one mind, to be in readiness to serve for the realm : and, that some one country was able to make a sufficient

army of twenty thousand men, fit to fight, and fifteen thousand of them well armed and weaponed ; and in some countries the number of forty thousand able men. . . .

“ And one thing I heard of, that was very politically ordered and executed at this time, as of many late years was not used : that, as the leaders and officers of the particular bands were men of experience in the wars, so, to make the bands strong and constant, choice was made of the principal knights of all countries, to bring their tenants to the field, being men of strength, and landed, and of wealth ; whereby all the forces, so compounded, were of a resolute disposition to stick to their lords and chieftains, and the chieftains to trust to their own tenants. And to remember one strange speech that I heard spoken, may be marvelled at, but it was avowed to me for a truth ; that one gentleman, in Kent, had a band of one hundred and fifty footmen, which were worth, in goods, above one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, besides their lands : such men would fight stoutly before they would have lost their goods, and, by likelihood at this time, many other bands were made of such principal men, both of wealth and strength. Of these things I am sorry to have cause to write in this sort : because you may see how heretofore you have been deceived with advertisements of many, which had no proof to know the truth thereof ; and so I confess myself in some things to have erred, namely, in imagining that, whensoever any foreign power should be seen ready to land in any part of this realm, there would have been found but a small number resolute to withstand the same, or to defend the Queen ; but that the same would have been very unable for the wars, untrained, raw, and ignorant in all warlike actions, without sufficient armour and weapons : and that also the noblemen and gentlemen that were in this realm of our religion, whereof, you know, we made account when you were here in England of very many,

although many of them be dead since that time ; but at this time there are not so many tens, as we accounted hundreds, whom we thought would have shewed themselves like men of courage for our common cause, and would have suddenly surprized the houses, families, and strength of the Hereticks and adversaries.

" But now, such is our calamity, that it hath pleased God, (as I think, for our sins, or else for confounding of our bold opinions and presumptions of our own strength,) to put in the hearts of all persons here one like mind, and courage to withstand the intended invasion, as well in such as we accounted Catholicks, as also in the Hereticks ; so as it hath appeared manifestly that for all earnest proceeding for arming, and for contributions of money, and for all other warlike actions, there was no difference to be seen betwixt the Catholick and the Heretick. But in this case to withstand the threatened conquest, yea, to defend the person of the Queen, there appeared such a sympathy, concourse, and consent of all sorts of persons, without respect of religion ; as they all appeared to be ready to fight against all strangers, as it were with one heart and one body."

After affirming that no hope is to be expected of the King of Scots, who, in an Appendix, he states to have given " strict instructions upon all the sea-coasts that the Spaniards should not be allowed to land in any part, but that the English might land and be relieved of any wants," he gives an account of the defeat * and goes on to advise that " we cannot judge of any likelihood of

* Among other matters in this respect he tells of " things reported to the dishonour of the Duke of Medina, who, it is said was lodged in the bottom of his ship for safety " ; and that " much speech is of two gentlemen of the court that went to the navy at the same time, whose names are Thomas Gerard, and William Hervy, to me not known, but now here about London spoken of with great fame. These two adventured out of a ship-boat, to scale the great galliass, wherein Moncada was, and entered the same only with their rapiers ; a matter commonly spoken, that never the like was hazarded before, considering the height of the galliass compared to a ship-boat."

good success for any long time ; and if there should any be hoped for, surely the sea-forces of the Catholick King must of necessity be more increased, and better also governed than they were this year. For this we here do consider, that this enterprise of invasion and conquest was always principally groundd upon many probable opinions of the evil state of the realm.” *

Speaking then of the great preparations being made for a possible future attack, and with no doubt that “ this realm, this next year, will be double as strong as it was this last year,” he proceeds with a stirring account of the Queen’s popularity and energy :

“ As to the second branch of our hope depending upon opinion of some great discontentment of sundry persons against the Queen, the proof of the contrary so appeared this year, both of her actions, to maintain the liking of all her people, and of the general earnest devotion shewed to her by all estates, noble and mean, rich and poor, as I think no prince christened ever had greater cause of comfort in her people ; which I may judge to breed a pride in her. And to recompense the same, she did most notably shew herself in this time, even when most danger was threatened, in all her actions towards her people, as careful for their weal, and for the safety of her realm, without any special or particular provision, or regard to her own person, as ever any prince could do. First, to let her people understand what care she had to make her realm strong against invasion, she politically, yea most carefully, by her own frequent directions, caused her whole realm to be put in arms ; she took account thereof herself by monthly certificates, from such as were made her Lieutenants, in every shire of her realm ; she caused armour, powder, weapons, to be sent to all countries,

* Oldys, the first editor of the Miscellany, has a note here : “ This ought to be well remarked ; and it is upon these suppositions that the enemy did ever attack us.” It is notorious that Germany was misled as to the value of our internal quarrels in the late war.

and ordnance to all maritime countries : there were also sundry armies described, to defend every coast of the sea, and as I heard it reported, by some that did know the secrets of the court, was importunate with her council to leave no day unoccupied, to bring these services to effect ; and yet she did still continue her commissioners, in the Low Countries, to treat of peace, which surely she desired to have obtained, so that she might have had the same with certain conditions. So as to content her people, she did both treat and desire peace, and did not, in the mean time, neglect to make her realm strong for defence, if peace could not be gotten. But in the end, when her demands were wholly refused (whereof we and all Catholicks were most glad), and that she understood very certainly, that the army of the Duke of Parma should come first to destroy the city of London, she revoked her commissioners, approached London in person, and did lie, as it were, in the suburbs of the same ; whereby they of the city took great comfort, having daily in show and muster of their own ten thousand men armed and trained of very able men of the city, and in readiness thirty thousand more, able to fight.

“ She caused also an army to be brought to incamp, near the sea-side, upon the river of Thames, betwixt the sea and the city, twenty miles beneath the city ; and after the army was come thither, she would not by any advice be stayed, but for comfort of her people, and to shew her own magnanimity of heart, (as she said, she would so do, though she was a woman,) she went to that army lying betwixt the city and the sea, under the charge of the Earl of Leicester, placing herself, betwixt the enemy and her city, and there viewed her army, and passed through it divers times, lodged in the borders of it, returned again, and dined in the army. And first, saw the people as they were, by their countries, lodged and quartered, in their several camps, which she viewed, from place to place. Afterward, when they were all

reduced into battles, ready, as it were, to fight with any enemy, she rode round about them, and did view them curiously, being accompanied only but with the General, and three or four others attending on her : but, yet to shew her state, I well marked it, she had the sword carried before her, by the Earl of Ormond.

“ There she was generally saluted with cries, with shouts, with all tokens of love, of obedience, of readiness and willingness to fight for her, as seldom hath been seen, in a camp and army, considering she was a queen ; and all tended to shew a marvellous concord, in a mutual love, betwixt a queen and her subjects ; and of reverence, and obedience of subjects, to a sovereign ; all which she acquitted with very princely thanks, and good speeches. I could enlarge this description with many more particularities of mine own sight, for thither I went, as many others did ; and all that day, wandering from place to place, I never heard any word spoken of her, but in praising her for her stately person, and princely behaviour ; and in praying for her life and safety, and cursing of all her enemies, both traitors, and all Papists, with earnest desire to venture their lives for her safety.

“ And besides such particular acclamations, the whole army, in every quarter, did devoutly at certain times sing in her hearing, in very tunable manner, divers psalms put into form of prayers, in praise of Almighty God, no ways to be misliked ; which she greatly commended, and with very earnest speech thanked God with them. This that I write, you may be sure, I do not with any comfort, but to give you these manifest arguments, that neither this Queen doth discontent her people, nor her people do shew any discontentation in any thing that they be commanded to do for her service, as heretofore hath been imagined. She had also an army of about forty thousand foot-men, and of six thousand horse-men, under the charge of the Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain, as Lieutenant of

that army, made ready from the inland parts of the realm, to be about her own person, without disarming the maritime countries ; so as many marched out of sundry countries towards her, at the very time that she was in the camp : some came to the suburbs and towns near London, whom she remanded to their countries, because their harvest was at hand ; and many of them would not be countermanded, but still approached onward on their own charges (as they said) to see her person, and to fight with them that boasted to conquer the realm. But, though the greatest number of the said soldiers were compelled to return, yet the captains, leaders, and the principal knights and gentlemen came to the court to offer their service ; and those were graciously accepted of her, with many thanks, and are now for the more part returned with a full determination, and firm promise to continue their bands in such readiness, as upon a few hours warning, they will assuredly return with them in good array.

“ Beside these foresaid arguments to disprove the opinion of discontentment of the people, which heretofore hath been thought a great furtherance to this honourable action, I will also remember you some other more notable actions, to prove both contentation and readiness, in all the nobility of the realm at this time, that were not tied to abide in their countries by reason of their offices, as lieutenants and governors there, for martial services. For, as soon as it was heard that the Queen was come near London, and that the armies were in gathering to come out of the countries, for defence of all invasions, and reports brought from the sea-coasts of the appearance of the Spanish navy ; all the noblemen in the realm, from east and west, from north and south, excepting only such great lords as had special governments in the countries, that might not lawfully be absent from their charge, and some few that were not able to make forces according to their desire, came to the Queen, bringing with them, accord-

ing to their degrees, and to the uttermost of their power, goodly bands of horsemen, both lances, light-horsemen, and such other as are termed Carbines or Argeletiers,* lodging their bands round about London, and maintaining them in pay at their own charges all the time, until the navy of Spain was certainly known to be passed beyond Scotland.”

So Richard Leigh proceeds with his remarkable picture of the English spirit at that period.

Now all the youth of England is on fire. . . .
They sell the pasture now to buy the horse !

Shakespeare, living then, of course, was probably inspired as much by the prevailing fervour as by the thought of past glories when writing his famous patriotic blank-verse passages dealing with earlier wars. But to conclude Leigh's account, “Now, my Lord Ambassador,” he says, “by these my large relations of the evil things past, and of the opinions of such as I have lately dealt withal, with mine own conceit also, which I do not vainly imagine, your Lordship may see, in the first part, our present calamity and miserable estate : in the second part, the state of this Queen, her realm, her people, their minds, their strength, so far contrary to the expectation of the Pope's Holiness, the King Catholick, and especially of you, my Lord, and all others that have been in hand these many years with this action, as I know not what course shall or may be thought meet to take ; seeing it is seen by experience, that by force our cause cannot be relieved. Neither will any change amend the matter, when this Queen shall end her days ; as all princes are mortal. For both the universality of the people through the realm, are so firmly and desperately bent against our religion, as nothing can prevail against their united forces : and whosoever shall by right succeed to this crown, after the Queen (who is likely to live as long as any King in

* Troopers.

Christendom), if the crown should come to the King of Scots, or to any other of the blood royal, as there are very many within this realm descended both of the royal houses of York and Lancaster, there is no account to be made ; but every one of them, that now live at this day, are known to be as vehemently disposed to withstand the authority of the Pope, as any of the most earnest Protestants or hereticks in the world. So as to conclude, after all circumstances well considered, for the present, I know no other way, but to commit the cause to Almighty God, and to all the saints in Heaven, with our continual prayers ; and in earth, to the holy counsels of the Pope and his Cardinals, with our supplications to relieve the afflicted number of our exiled brethren, and to send into the realm discreet, holy, and learned men, that may only, (in secret manner, without intermeddling in matters of estate,) by teaching us, confirm us in our faith, and gain, with charitable instruction others that are not rooted in heresy."

So much for Richard Leigh, soon to be executed for high treason. He leaves two deep impressions, difficult to eradicate : the one of the miserable plight of those unhappy Spaniards " flying beyond the Orcades," the other of the intense devotion of all England to the greatest of all her Queens. The amazing personality of this admirable woman may be further realised in two of her speeches to Parliament, a few extracts from which should here be given. In the first, delivered in 1593, some four years after the attempted invasion, she says finely :

" This kingdom hath had many wise, noble, and victorious princes ; I will not compare with any of them in wisdom, fortitude, or any other virtues : but saving the duty of a child, that is, not to compare with his father in love, care, sincerity, and justice ; I will compare with any prince that ever you had, or shall have.

" It may be thought simplicity in me, that, all this time of my reign, I have not sought to advance my

territories, and enlarge my dominions ; for opportunity hath served me to do it. I acknowledge my womanhood and weakness in that respect ; but, though it hath not been hard to obtain, yet I doubted how to keep the things so obtained : and I must say, my mind was never to invade my neighbours, or to usurp over any ; I am contented to reign over my own, and to rule as a just princess.

“ Yet the King of Spain doth challenge me to be the quarreller, and the beginner of all these wars ; in which he doth me the greatest wrong that can be, for my conscience doth not accuse my thoughts, wherein I have done him the least injury : but I am persuaded in my conscience, if he knew what I know, he himself would be sorry for the wrong that he hath done me.

“ I fear not all his threatenings ; his great preparations and mighty forces do not stir me : for, though he come against me, with a greater power than ever was, his Invincible Navy, I doubt not (God assisting me, upon whom I always trust) but that I shall be able to defeat and overthrow him. I have great advantage against him, for my cause is just.

“ I heard say, when he attempted his last invasion, some, upon the sea-coast, forsook their towns, and flew up higher into the country, and left all naked and exposed to his entrance : but, I swear unto you, if I knew those persons, or any that should do so hereafter, I will make them know and feel what it is to be so fearful in so urgent a cause.

“ The subsidies, you give me, I accept thankfully, if you give me your good wills with them * ; but if the necessity of the time, and your preparations, did not require it, I would refuse them. But, let me tell you,

* It was not till after many debates, that the Commons granted these subsidies, together with six-fifteenths and tenths, amounting in all to £280,000, in order to defend the kingdom against Spanish invasion, and to afford assistance to France and the United Provinces. It was also cautiously inserted in the act of parliament, that so large and unusual a supply, granted to a most excellent Queen, who made such good use of the public money, should not be drawn into a precedent.

that the sum is not so much ; but that it is needful for a princess to have so much always lying in her coffers, for your defence in time of need ; and not to be driven to get it, when we should use it.

"You that be lieutenants and gentlemen of command in your counties, I require you to take care that the people be well armed, and in readiness upon all occasions. You that be judges and justices of the peace, I command and straitly charge you, that you see the laws to be duly executed ; and that you make them living laws, when we have put life into them."

In the other speech, addressing her last Parliament on November 30th, 1601, not long before her death, after a preamble she says :

"Of myself, I must say this, I never was any greedy scraping grasper, nor a strict fast-holding prince, nor yet a waster ; my heart was never set upon any worldly goods, but only for my subjects' good. What you do bestow on me, I will not hoard up, but receive it to bestow on you again ; yea, my own properties I account yours ; to be expended for your good ; and your eyes shall see the bestowing of it, for your welfare. . . . I esteem my people's love, more than which I desire not to merit ; and God, that gave me here to sit, and placed me over you, knows that I never respected myself, but as your good was concerned in me : yet what dangers, what practices, and what perils I have passed, some, if not all of you know ; but none of these things do move me, or ever made me fear, but it is God that hath delivered me. And, in my governing this land, I have ever set the last judgment-day before my eyes, and so to rule, as I shall be judged and answer before a higher Judge, to whose judgment-seat I do appeal, in that never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my people's good. And if my princely bounty have been abused, and my grants turned to the hurt of my people, contrary to my will and meaning, or if any in authority under me have

neglected, or converted what I have committed unto them, I hope God will not lay their culps to my charge. To be a King, and wear a crown, is a thing more glorious to them that see it, than it is pleasant to them that bear it ; for myself, I never was so much enticed with the glorious name of a King, or the royal authority of a Queen, as delighted that God hath made me his instrument to maintain his truth and glory, and to defend this kingdom from dishonour, damage, tyranny, and oppression. But should I ascribe any of these things unto myself, or my sexly weakness, I were not worthy to live, and of all most unworthy of the mercies I have received at God's hands ; but to God only and wholly, all is given and ascribed. The cares and trouble of a crown I cannot more fitly resemble, than to the drugs of a learned physician, perfumed with some aromatical savour ; or to bitter pills, gilded over, by which they are made more acceptable, or less offensive, which indeed are bitter and unpleasant to take : and, for my own part, were it not for conscience-sake, to discharge the duty that God hath laid upon me, and to maintain his glory, and keep you in safety, in my own disposition I should be willing to resign the place I hold to any other, and glad to be freed of the glory with the labours ; for it is not my desire to live or reign longer, than my life and reign shall be for your good. And, though you have had, and may have, many mightier and wiser princes sitting in this seat, yet you never had, nor shall have any, that will love you better."

This was the stiff-lipped and redoubtable woman, but lovable and noble indeed, "content to reign over my own and to rule as a just princess," who served England now more than 300 years ago. And here, roughly, in this brief epitome, is the spirit of her day. It is impossible wholly to mistrust the thrill of pride they give us ; impossible wholly to believe that, seen in themselves as they really were, there would be no good reason for that emotion.

II

CLAUD DUVAL DANCES A "CURRANT"

The Memoirs of Monsieur Du Vall ; containing the History of his Life and Death : Whereunto are annexed his last Speech and Epitaph. Intended as a severe Reflexion on the too great Fondness of English Ladies towards French Footmen ; which, at that Time of Day, was a too common Complaint. London, printed 1670.

CLAUDE DU VALL was born, anno 1643, at Domfront in Normandy, a place very famous for the excellency and healthfulness of the air, and for the production of mercurial wits.* At the time of his birth (as we have since found, by rectification of his nativity, by accidents) there was a conjunction of Venus and Mercury ; certain presages of very good fortune, but of a short continuance. His father was Pierre du Vall, a miller ; his mother Marguerite De la Roche, a tailor's daughter. I hear no hurt of his parents ; they lived in as much reputation and honesty, as their conditions and occupations would permit.

There are some that confidently aver he was born in Smock-alley without Bishopsgate ; that his father was a cook, and sold boiled beef and porridge. But this report is as false as it is defamatory and malicious ; and it is easy to disprove it several ways. I will only urge one demonstrative argument against it : If he had been born there, he had been no Frenchman ; but, if he had been no Frenchman, it is absolutely impossible he should have been so much beloved in his life, and lamented at his death by the English ladies.

His father and mother had not been long married, when Marguerite longed for pudding and mince-pie,

* The career of this notorious highwayman is told in the chronicler's own words. I have abridged only where he becomes longwinded.

which the good man was fain to beg for her at an English merchant's in Rouen, which was a certain sign of his inclination to England. They were very merry at his christening, and his father, without any grumbling, paid also then the fees for his burial ; which is an extraordinary custom at Domfront, not exercised any where else in all France.* . . .

The boy grew up, and spoke the language of the country fluently, which is lawyer's French, and which (if I should not offend the ladies, in comparing our language with theirs) is as much inferior to that at Paris, as Devonshire or Somersetshire English to that spoken at White-Hall.

I speak not this to disgrace him, for could he have spoke never so good French, it is not in such high esteem there as it is here ; and it very rarely happens, that, upon that account alone, any great man's daughter runs away with a lacquey.

When he was about thirteen or fourteen years old, his friends mustered their forces together to set him up in the world ; they bought him shoes and stockings, for (according to the laudable custom of that country, of inuring their youth to hardship) till then he had never worn any ; they also bought him a suit of the brokers, gave him their blessing and twenty sous in his pocket, and threw an old shoe after him, and bid him go seek his fortune. This throwing of an old shoe after him, was looked upon as a great piece of prodigality in Normandy, where they are so considerable a merchandise ; the citizens' wives of the best quality wearing old shoes chalked ; whence, I suppose, our custom of wearing white shoes derives its original.

His friends advised him to go to Paris, assuring him

* Follows in the text the curate of Domfront's reason for this custom " In seven years," he said, " I have baptized a hundred children and buried not one. . . . Upon further enquiry I found out the true cause of it ; for all that were born at Domfront were hanged at Rouen. I did this to keep my parishioners from hanging, encouraging them to die at home, the burial duties being already paid " !

he would not fail of a condition there, if any could be had in the world ; for so the French call Paris. He goes to Rouen, and fortunately meets with post-horses, which were to be returned, one of which he was proffered to ride *gratis*, only upon promise to help to dress them at night. And, which was yet more fortunate, he meets several young English gentlemen, with their governors, going to Paris, to learn their exercises, to fit them to go a wooing at their return home ; who were infinitely ambitious of his company, not doubting but in those two days' travels, they should pump many considerable things out of him, both as to the language and customs of France ; and, upon that account, they did very willingly defray his charges.

They arrive at Paris, and light in the Fauxbourg St. Germain, the quarter wherein generally the English lodge, near whom also, our Du Vall did earnestly desire to plant himself. Not long after, by the intercession of some of the English gentlemen, (for in this time he had endeared himself to them,) he was admitted to run on errands, and to do the meanest offices at the St. Esprit, in the Rue de Boucherie : a house, in those days, betwixt a tavern, an ale-house, a cook's-shop, and a bawdy-house ; and, upon some of these accounts, much frequented by the English, his patrons. In this condition he lived unblameable, during some time, unless you esteem it a fault to be scabby, and a little given to filching qualities, very frequent in persons of his nation and condition.

The restoration of his Majesty, which was in 1660, brought multitudes of all nations into England, to be spectators of our jubilee ; but, more particularly, it drained Paris of all the English there, as being most concerned in so great a happiness : one of them, a person of quality, entertained Du Vall as his servant, and brought him over with him.

What fortunes he ran through afterwards, is known to every one, and how good a proficient he was in the

laudable qualities of gaming and making love. But one vice he had, which I cannot pardon him, because it is not of the French growth, but Northern and ungenteel ; I mean that of drinking ; for, that very night he was surprized, he was over-taken.

By these courses (for I dare not call them vices) he soon fell into want of money, to maintain his sport ; that, and his stars, but chiefly his own valour, inclined him to take the generous way of padding ; in which he quickly became so famous, that, in a proclamation for the taking several notorious highway-men, he had the honour to be named first.

This is the place where I should set down several of his exploits ; but I omit them, both as being well known, and because I cannot find in them more ingenuity than was practised before by Hind and Han-num, and several other mere English thieves.

Yet, to do him right, one story there is that savours of gallantry, and I should not be an honest historian, if I should conceal it. He with his squadron overtakes a coach, which they had set over night, having intelligence of a booty of four-hundred pounds in it. In the coach was a knight, his lady, and only one serving-maid, who, perceiving five horsemen making up to them, presently imagined they were beset ; and they were confirmed in this apprehension, by seeing them whisper to one another, and ride backwards and forwards : the lady, to shew she was not afraid, takes a flageolet out of her pocket and plays. Du Vall takes the hint, plays also, and excellently well, upon a flageolet of his own ; and, in this posture, he rides up to the coach-side. “ Sir, (says he, to the person in the coach,) your lady plays excellently, and I doubt not but that she dances as well ; will you please to walk out of the coach, and let me have the honour to dance one currant * with her upon the heath.” “ Sir, (said the person

* Courant, or Coranto, formerly one of the principal dances practised in England. It is described in Sir John Davis's poem *Orchestra*.

in the coach,) I dare not deny any thing to one of your quality and good mind ; you seem a gentleman, and your request is very reasonable." Which said, the lacquey opens the boot ; out comes the knight, Du Vall leaps lightly off his horse, and hands the lady out of the coach. They danced, and here it was that Du Vall performed marvels ; the best master in London, except those that are French, not being able to shew such footing as he did in his great riding French boots. The dancing being over, he waits on the lady to her coach : as the knight was going in, says Du Vall to him, " Sir, you have forgot to pay the musick." " No, I have not ;" (replies the knight ;) and, putting his hand under the seat of the coach, pulls out an hundred pounds in a bag, and delivers it to him ; which Du Vall took with a very good grace, and courteously answered, " Sir, you are liberal, and shall have no cause to repent your being so ; this liberality of yours shall excuse you the other three-hundred pounds : " and, giving him the word, that if he met with any more of the crew, he might pass undisturbed, he civilly takes his leave of him.

This story, I confess, justifies the great kindness the ladies had for Du Vall ; for in this, as in an epitome, are contained all things that set a man off advantageously, and make him appear, as the phrase is, ' much a gentleman.' First, here was valour, that he and but four more, durst assault a knight, a lady, a waiting-gentlewoman, a lacquey, a groom that rid by, to open the gates, and the coachman ; they being six to five, odds at football : and besides, Du Vall had much the worst cause, and reason to believe, that whoever should arrive, would range themselves on the enemy's party. Then he shewed his invention and sagacity, that he could *sur le champ*, and without studying, make that advantage of the lady's playing on the flageolet. He evidenced his skill in instrumental music, by playing on his flageolet ; in vocal by his singing ; for (as I

should have told you before) there being no violins, Du Vall sung the currant himself. He manifested his agility of body, by lightly dismounting off his horse, and with ease and freedom getting up again, when he took his leave ; his excellent deportment, by his incomparable dancing, and his graceful manner of taking the hundred pounds ; his generosity, in taking no more ; his wit and eloquence, and readiness at repartees in the whole discourse with the knight and lady ; the greatest part of which I have been forced to omit.

And here, could I dispense with truth and impartiality (necessary ingredients of a good history), I could come off with flying colours, leave Du Vall in the ladies' bosoms, and not put myself out of a possibility of ever being in favour with any of them.

But I must tell the story of the sucking-bottle ; which, if it seem to his disadvantage, set that other against it which I am come from relating. The adventure of the sucking-bottle was as follows :—It happened another time, as Du Vall was upon his vocation of robbing on Black-heath, he meets with a coach richly fraught with ladies of quality, and with one child, who had a silver sucking-bottle ; he robs them rudely, takes away their money, watches, rings, and even the little child's sucking-bottle : nor would he, upon the child's tears, nor the lady's earnest intercession, be wrought upon to restore it ; till at last one of his companions (whose name I wish I could put down here, that he may find friends when he shall stand in need of them), a good-natured person (for the French are strangers both to the name and thing) forced him to deliver it. I shall make no reflections upon this story, both because I do not design to render him odious, or make this pamphlet more prolix.

The noise of the proclamation, and the rewards promised to those who should take any therein named, made Du Vall retire to France. At Paris he lives

highly, makes great boastings of the success of his arms and amours in England, proudly bragging, "He could never encounter with any of either sex that could resist him." He had not been long in France, but he had a fit of his old disease, want of money, which he found to be much augmented by the thin air of France; and therefore, by the advice of his physicians, lest the disease should seize upon his vitals, and make him lie by it, he resolves to transport himself into England; which accordingly he did: for, in truth, the air of France is not good for persons of his constitution, it being the custom there to travel in great companies well armed, and with little money; the danger of being resisted, and the danger of being taken is much greater there; and the quarry much less than in England. For, if by chance a dapper fellow, with fine black eyes, and a white peruke, be taken there, and found guilty of robbing, all the women in the town do presently take the alarm, and run to the king to beg his life.

To England he comes; but, alas! his reign proves but short; for, within few months after his return, before he had done any thing of great glory or advantage to himself, he fell into the hands of justice, being taken drunk at the Hole in the Wall, in Chandos-street: and well it was for the bailiff and his men that he was drunk, otherwise they had tasted of his prowess; for he had in his pocket three pistols (one whereof would shoot twice), and by his side an excellent sword, which, managed by such a hand and heart, must, without doubt, have done wonders. Nay, I have heard it attested by those that knew how good a marksman he was, and his excellent way of fencing; that, had he been sober, it was impossible he could have killed less than ten. They farther add, upon their own knowledge, he would have been cut as small as herbs for the pot, before he would have yielded to the bailiff of Westminster; that is to say, he would have died in the

place, had not some great person been sent to him, to whom he might with honour have delivered his sword and himself. But taken he was, and that too *à bon marche* ; without the expence of blood or treasure, committed to Newgate ; arraigned, convicted, condemned, and on Friday, January the 21st, executed at Tyburn, in the twenty-seventh year of his age, (which number is made up of three times nine,) and left behind him a sad instance of the irresistible influence of the stars, and the fatality of climacterical years.

There were a great company of ladies, and those not of the meanest degree, that visited him in prison, interceded for his pardon, and accompanied him to the gallows ; a catalogue of whose names I have by me ; nay, even of those who, when they visited him, durst not pull off their vizards, for fear of shewing their eyes swoln, and their cheeks blubbered with tears.

When I first put pen to paper, I was in great indignation, and fully resolved, (nay, and I think I swore,) that I would print this muster-roll. But, upon second thoughts and calmer considerations, I have altered my fierce resolution : partly, because I would not do my nation so great a disgrace, and especially that part of it to whom I am so entirely devoted ; but principally, because I hoped milder physick might cure them of this French disease, of this inordinate appetite to mushrooms, of this dangerous doating upon strangers.

After he had hanged a convenient time, he was cut down, and, by persons well dressed, carried into a mourning-coach, and so conveyed to the Tangier-tavern in St. Giles's, where he lay in state all that night, the room hung with black-cloth, the hearse covered with escutcheons, eight wax-tapers burning, and as many tall gentlemen with long black clokes attending ; mum was the word, great silence expected from all that visited, for fear of disturbing this sleeping lion. And this ceremony had lasted much longer, had not one of the judges (whose name I must not mention here, lest

he should incur the displeasure of the ladies) sent to disturb this pageantry. But I dare set down a mark whereby you may guess at him. It is one betwixt whom and the highway-men there is little love lost; one who thought the fellow had honour enough done him, that he was not buried under the gallows.

This story of lying-in-state seemed to me so improbable, and such an audacious mockery of the laws, that till I had it again and again from several gentlemen, who had the curiosity to see him, I durst not put it down here, for fear of being accounted a notorious liar.

The night was stormy and rainy, as if the heavens had sympathized with the ladies, and echoed again their sighs, and wept over again their tears.

As they were undressing him, in order to his lying-in-state, one of his friends put his hands in his pocket, and found therein the speech, which he intended to have made, written with a very fair hand; a copy whereof I have, with much cost and industry, procured; and yet do freely make it public, because I would not have any thing wanting, in this narration.

DU VALL'S SPEECH.

"I should be very ungrateful (which, amongst persons of honour, is a greater crime, than that for which I die) should I not acknowledge my obligation to you, fair English ladies. I could not have hoped, that a person of my nation, birth, education, and condition, could have had so many and powerful charms to captivate you all, and to tie you so firmly to my interest, that you have not abandoned me in distress, or in prison; that you have accompanied me to this place of death, of ignominious death.

"From the experience of your true loves I speak it; nay, I know I speak your hearts; you could be content to die with me now, and even here, could you be assured of enjoying your beloved Du Vall in the other world.

“How mightily, and how generously, have you rewarded my little services ! Shall I ever forget that universal consternation amongst you, when I was taken ? Your frequent, your chargeable visits to me at Newgate ? Your shrieks, your swoonings, when I was condemned ? Your zealous intercession and importunity for my pardon ?

“You could not have erected fairer pillars of honour and respect to me, had I been a Hercules, and could have got fifty sons in a night.

“It has been the misfortune of several English gentlemen, in the times of the late Usurpation, to die at this place, upon the honourablest occasion that ever presented itself, the endeavouring to restore their exiled Sovereign : gentlemen, indeed, who had ventured their lives, and lost their estates in the service of their prince ; but they all died unlamented, and uninterceded for, because they were English. How much greater, therefore, is my obligation ; whom you love better than your own countrymen, better than your own dear husbands ? Nevertheless, ladies, it does not grieve me, that your intercession for my life proved ineffectual ; for now I shall die with little pain, a healthful body, and (I hope) a prepared mind. For my confessor has shewed me the evil of my way, and wrought in me a true repentance ; witness these tears, these unfeigned tears. Had you prevailed for my life, I must, in gratitude, have devoted it wholly to you ; which yet would have been but short : for, had you been sound, I should have soon died of a consumption ; if otherwise, of the p---x.”

He was buried with many flambeaux, and a numerous train of mourners ; most whereof were of the beautiful sex. He lies in the middle aisle in Covent-Garden church, under a plain white marble stone, whereon are curiously engraved the Du Vall's arms, and under them, written in black, this epitaph.

DU VALL'S EPITAPH.

HERE lies Du Vall : Reader, if male thou art,
 Look to thy purse ; if female, to thy heart :
 Much havock has he made of both ; for all
 Men he made stand, and women he made fall.
 The second conqu'ror of the Norman race ;
 Knights to his arms did yield, and ladies to his face.
 Old Tyburn's glory, England's illustrious thief ;
 Du Vall, the ladies' joy ; Du Vall, the ladies' grief.

Duval's historian concludes with an amusing "Apology," writ sarcastic, for remaining anonymous. "At my return from France," he says, "I was advised by my friends to settle myself in the world, that is, to marry ; when I went first among the ladies on that account, I found them very obliging, and, as I thought, coming. I wondered mightily what might be the reason could make me so acceptable ; but afterwards found it was the scent of France, which was then strong upon me ; for, according as that perfume decayed, my mistresses grew colder and colder.

"But that which precipitated me into ruin, was this following accident. Being once in the company of some ladies ; amongst other discourses, we fell upon the comparison betwixt the French and English nations. And here it was, that I, very imprudently, maintained, even against my mistress, That a French lacquey was not so good as an English gentleman. The scene was immediately changed ; they all looked upon me with anger and disdain ; they said I was unworthy of that little breeding I had acquired, of that small parcel of wit (for they would not have me esteemed a mere fool, because I had been so often in their company) which nature had bestowed upon me, since I made so ill use of it, as to maintain such paradoxes. My mistress for ever forbids me the house ; and, the next day, sends me my letters, and demands her own ; bidding me pick

up a wife at the plough-tail, for it was impossible any woman well bred would ever cast her eyes upon me. . . .

“I design but two things in the writing this book. One is, That the next Frenchman that is hanged, may not cause an uproar in this imperial city; which I doubt not but I have effected. The other is a much harder task: To set my countrymen on even terms with the French, as to the English ladies’ affections. If I should bring this about, I should esteem myself to have contributed much to the good of this kingdom.

“One remedy there is, which, possibly, may conduce something towards it.

“I have heard, that there is a new invention of transfusing the blood of one animal into another, and that it has been experimented, by putting the blood of a sheep into an Englishman. I am against that way of experiments; for, should we make all Englishmen sheep, we should soon be a prey to the Loure.

“I think I can propose the making that experiment, a more advantageous way. I would have all gentlemen, who have been a full year or more out of France, be let blood weekly, or oftener, if they can bear it. Mark how much they bleed; transfuse so much French lacquey’s blood into them; replenish these last out of the English footmen; for it is no matter what becomes of them. Repeat this operation *toties quoties*; and, in process of time, you will find this event: Either the English gentlemen will be as much beloved as the French lacquies, or the French lacquies as little esteemed as the English gentlemen.

“But to conclude my apology: I have certainly great reason to conceal my name; for, if I suffered so severely for only speaking one word in a private company, what punishment will be great enough for a relapsed heretick publishing a book to the same purpose? I must certainly do as that Irish gentleman that let a scape in the presence of his mistress; run my country, shave my head, and bury myself in a monas-

tery, if there be any charitable enough to harbour a person guilty of such heinous crimes." *

* Shakespeare, a century before the time of this pamphlet, had a hit at his countrywomen's taste for persons and things French. Alluding to a new proclamation for "the reformation of our travell'd gallants," a character in *Henry VIII.* says,

What a loss our ladies
Will have of these trim vanities !

and replies another,

Ay, marry,
There will be woe indeed, lords : the sly whoresons
Have got a speeding trick to lay down ladies ;
A French song and a fiddle has no fellow.

III

HENRY THE EIGHTH'S LOVE LETTERS

HENRY THE EIGHTH'S matrimonial ventures must needs make fascinating study to all who, reading of them, realise how difficult it is to arrive at a just estimate of his character. Cavendish, the faithful servant of Cardinal Wolsey, in his *The Negotiations of Thomas Wolsey*, says impressively : " It is a wonderful thing to consider the strength of princes' wills, when they are bent to have their pleasure fulfilled, wherein no reasonable persuasions will serve the turn : how little do they regard the dangerous sequels that may ensue as well to themselves as to their subjects. And, amongst all things there is nothing that makes them more wilful than carnal love, and various affecting of voluptuous desires ; wherein nothing could be of greater experience than to see what inventions were furnished, what laws were enacted, what costly edifices of noble and ancient monasteries were there overthrown, what diversities of opinions then arose, what extortions were then committed, how many learned and good men were then put to death, and what alterations of good ancient laws, customs, and charitable foundations, were turned from the relief of the poor, to the utter destruction and desolation, almost to the subversion of this noble realm "

This was aimed at the King in relation to the intrigues which led to his marriage with Anne Boleyn, but it is very doubtful if we are to look only to " carnal love " for an explanation of his conduct. Although humane people must condemn his habit of beheading his wives and others who stood in his way, they must

pause at his apparent conscientiousness, great respect for religion and the institution of marriage, and, in general, his attempts to live rightly, or, in other words, according to what laws he believed to be truly of God's. A cynic might say that all this proceeded from great fear of the world's power and opinion; that he was, in short, a mere bigot. But to get nearer the truth, if possible, let us compare him with Charles the Second. It would have been so easy for him to take to himself mistresses, thus avoiding the gigantic problems and responsibilities he was compelled to face by stubbornly working for his various marriages and divorces. The fact remains that, so far at least as sexual morality is concerned, he was a very different man from Charles.

Was he a better man? It cannot be said that it was goodness which dictated the cutting off of so many heads. It must be admitted that it was *kindness* which dictated Charles's famous last words, "Don't let poor Nelly starve."

For more light on this matter let us hark back to the facts of Henry's first marriage with Catherine of Aragon, to whom he was married in 1503, six years before he came to reign, and being then under age. This marriage was arranged for reasons of state; in other words, probably from fear of Spain. Henry the Seventh, influenced by Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, seems to have objected to it, but, with more powerful elements prevailing, * a bull was obtained

* Those of us who think of the Tudors as being almost absolute autocrats would slightly modify the opinion after reading the pamphlets of the time. Fox, Bishop of Winchester, is said to have favoured the marriage as being lawful, but probably there was no one great powerful influence then at court—it was before the rise of Wolsey—and the marriage was, as I believe, brought about by a majority apprehensive of Spain. There was, by the way, something of truth in the view of Robert Leigh (the priest executed in Elizabeth's reign: *vide* Chap. I) that the flaming patriotism of the English was less a matter of devotion than of fear. But the solution of the problem—as with the character of Henry—is only to be arrived at by seeing clearly the nice distinction between man's fear of man and his fear of God.

from Rome and the marriage duly took place. It was Rome's initial error or weakness. Thereafter she vacillated, shilly-shallying as to the marriage's validity until, the royal husband's patience being exhausted, breaking with Rome on the advice of Cranmer he accepted the verdict of the Universities of Europe in favour of annulment, and on the 25th of January, 1533, married Anne Boleyn.

In spite of her very fine letter, the last of the series here reprinted, it is doubtful if Anne was ever really in love with the King. A maid of honour to Queen Catherine, and before becoming aware of Henry's passion, her affections had been engaged by young Percy, son of the Earl of Northumberland. The breaking off of this affair, chiefly through Wolsey, seeking thus the King's favour,* was the beginning of the Cardinal's downfall. Anne thereafter plotted against him even when he later courted her and worked for the annulment of the marriage with Catherine, though, as regards this last, he was ever between the two stools of his fear of Rome, or his private conscience, and his anxiety not to stand in the way of the King's desire.†

* A Sir Roger Twysden records an interview between Percy and Wolsey in which the latter begins the business of parting the lovers. "I merveile not a little (quod the Cardinal) at thy folly, that thou wouldest thus attempt to assure thy selfe with a foolish gyrl yonder in the court, Anne Bullen. . . ." He then goes on to warn him of the King's and his father's wrath, whereat, "Sir (quod the Lord Percy weepinge) I knewe not the king's pleasure, and am sorry for it." Later, according to Cavendish, came together Wolsey and Percy's father. They were "in secret communication a long space, and drinking a cup of wine," following which came a painful interview between father and son. Percy was eventually married off to a daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury.

† It is perhaps to Henry's credit that after Wolsey's disgrace and when he, Wolsey, was at the beginning of the illness which led to his death, actuated either by kindness or an uneasy conscience, or a medley of both, Henry bestowed on his fallen minister money and other marks of his favour. "Tell him," he said, "I am not offended with him in my heart in any thing." After Wolsey's death he also advanced Cavendish to honour for faithful service to his fallen master; which, however, he would certainly not have done had he known that the "chiel was takin' notes" in an attempt to justify the Cardinal and, naturally, with a bias against himself. Here it

Catherine, the meantime, played, as Cavendish says, "a very patient Grissel," dissembling her feelings and seeming "neither to Mrs. Anne Bullen, nor the King, to carry any spark of discontent or displeasure." But that she was not always able to contain is proved by her spirited protest at a court established to try the marriage's validity, where "the King, seeing that she was ready to go out of the court, commanded the crier to call her back again by these words, 'Catherine, queen of England, come into court.'" Her attention being drawn, by Griffith, her servant, to the royal order, 'Go on (quoth she) it is no matter. It is no indifferent court for me, therefore go on your way.' "And so they departed, without any further answer at that time, or any appearance in any other court after that." It was at this sitting, incidentally, that Henry, finding the Bishop of Rochester against him, observed wrathfully, "We will not stand in argument with *you*, you are but one." The death of this conscientious prelate, it is almost needless to parenthesise, was not peaceful. Another brave man, Cardinal Campaine, at the last sitting, decided that the matter must be referred to the Pope. "I came not to please for any favour, reward, or fear, of any person alive, be he king or otherwise," he said nobly. . . . "I am an old man, both weak and sickly, and look, every day, for death; what shall it avail me, to put my soul in danger of God's displeasure, to my utter damnation, for the favour of any prince in this world?"

may be said, in relation to Protestant prejudices and Wolsey's famous words, "Had I but served God as diligently as I have served my king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs," that someone, whether Oldys or not I do not know, in quoting the words has the very questionable note: "This was a strange sentence for Wolsey to utter, who was disgraced for the basest treachery to the king in the matter of the divorce; but it shows how naturally men endeavour to palliate their own crimes even to themselves." In the Miscellany's comments on the divorce, it may be added, the Protestant commentators are all for Henry and against Rome. The moral seems to be that anything stated by either Protestants or Roman Catholics is to be taken with a grain of salt.

A remarkable, important and mysterious feature of the trial was Catherine's insistence on her virginity at the time of her marriage with Henry; she having been for some months previously the wife of his elder brother Arthur, a prince who had died young. "When I first came to your bed," she affirmed to the King, "I take God to witness, I was a virgin: whether it were true or no I put to your conscience." It is a moot point if poor Catherine lied in this to assist her cause or spoke very truth. Knowledge, one way or the other, would do much, perhaps everything, to settle the problem of Henry's character. At any rate, after "this matter was very narrowly scanned on that side, and to prove the carnal copulation they had many reasons and similitudes of truth, a majority decided that the matrimony was not good, nor lawful at the beginning, because of the carnal copulation that prince Arthur had with the Queen."

So dragged out this curious business, the Protestants asserting that Henry's scruples dated from the time of his first marriage, the Roman Catholics that his conscience was not troubled until he became enamoured of Anne. That lady's triumph was short-lived enough. Within three years she was beheaded.

The letters which follow were written some five years before her marriage, while she was exiled from the court, "which was done to silence the clamours of the people on her account" [i.e. against her]: "but she was sent away in so abrupt a manner, that she determined to absent herself altogether; which made the King soon repent of his severity, and press her to come back; but this was not obtained for a long time, nor without great difficulty."

It remains only to be said that the letters (the last two excepted) were stolen, probably by Roman Catholic emissaries anxious to get all possible evidence against Henry. Lord Herbert of Cherbury speaks of the King's cabinet having been rifled and Cardinal Campegio's

coffers having been searched on his leaving England for Italy, "though in vain, they the letters having been formerly sent to Rome." It is, as Oldys suggests, more likely that, being to Anne, they were stolen from *her*. He adds that the originals "are now preserved in the Vatican Library, where they are usually shewn to all strangers." Some were written in French, some in English. Those translated I have marked T.F. (for Translated from the French); those in the original English with an O.

I. T.F.

MY mistress and friend, I and my heart put ourselves in your hands, begging you to recommend us to your favour, and not to let absence lessen your affection to us. For it were great pity to increase our pain, which absence alone does sufficiently, and more than I could ever have thought; bringing to my mind a point of astronomy, which is, That the farther the Moors are from us, the farther too is the sun, and yet his heat is the more scorching; so it is with our love: we are at a distance from one another, and yet it keeps its fervency, at least on my side. I hope the like on your part, assuring you, that the uneasiness of absence is already too severe for me; and when I think of the continuance of that which I must of necessity suffer, it would seem intolerable to me, were it not for the firm hope I have of your unchangeable affection for me: and now, to put you sometimes in mind of it, and seeing I cannot be present in person with you, I send you the nearest thing to that possible, that is, my picture set in bracelets, with the whole device, which you know already; wishing myself in their place, when it shall please you. This from the hand of

Your servant and friend,

H. Rex.

II. T.F.

To my Mistress.

BECAUSE the time seems to me very long, since I have heard from you, or concerning your health ; the great affection I have for you has obliged me to send this bearer to be better informed, both of your health and pleasure, particularly ; because, since my last parting with you, I have been told, that you have intirely changed the opinion in which I left you, and that you would neither come to court with your mother, nor any other way ; which report, if true, I cannot enough wonder at, being persuaded in my own mind, that I have never committed any offence against you : and it seems a very small return for the great love I bear you, to be kept at a distance from the person and presence of a woman in the world that I value the most ; and, if you love me with as much affection as I hope you do, I am sure, the distance of our two persons would be a little uneasy to you : though this does not belong so much to the mistress as the servant. Consider well, my mistress, how greatly your absence grieves me ; I hope it is not your will that it should be so ; but, if I heard for certain, that you yourself desired it, I could do no other than complain of my ill fortune, and by degrees abate my great folly : and so, for want of time, I make an end of my rude letter, desiring you to give credit to this bearer in all he will tell you from me. Written by the hand of your intire servant.

III. T.F.

THE uneasiness, my doubts about your health gave me, disturbed and frightened me extremely, and I should not have had any quiet without hearing a certain account. But now, since you have yet felt nothing, I hope it is with you as with us ; for, when we were at Waltan, two ushers, two valets de chambre, and your brother, master-treasurer, fell ill, and are now quite

well ; and since we are returned to your house at Hondson, we have been perfectly well, God be praised ! and have not, at present, one sick person in the family ; and, I think, if you would retire from the Surrey side, as we did, you would escape all danger. There is another thing that may comfort you, which is, that in truth in this distemper few or no women have been taken ill ; and besides, no person of our court, and few elsewhere have died of it. For which reasons I beg you, my intirely beloved, not to frighten yourself, nor to be too uneasy at our absence. For, wherever I am, I am yours ; and yet we must sometimes submit to our misfortunes ; for, whoever will struggle against fate, is generally but so much the farther from gaining his end : wherefore, comfort yourself, and take courage, and make this misfortune as easy to you as you can ; and I hope shortly to make you sing for joy of your recall. No more at present for lack of time, but that I wish you in my arms, that I might a little dispel your unreasonable thoughts. Written by the hand of him, who is, and always will be yours,

my, H. Rex, Lovely.

IV. T.F.

BY turning over in my thoughts the contents of your last letters, I have put myself into a great agony ; not knowing how to understand them, whether to my disadvantage, as I understood some others, or not : I beseech you now, with the greatest earnestness, to let me know your whole intention, as to the love between us two. For I must of necessity obtain this answer of you ; having been a whole year struck with the dart of love, and not yet sure whether I shall fail, or find a place in your heart and affection. This uncertainty has hindered me of late from naming you my mistress, since you only love me with an ordinary affection ; but if you please to do the duty of a true and loyal mistress, and to give up yourself, body and heart, to me, who

will be, as I have been, your most loyal servant, (if your rigour does not forbid me ;) I promise you that not only the name shall be given you, but also that I will take you for my mistress ; casting off all others that are in competition with you, out of my thoughts and affection, and serving you only. I beg you to give an intire answer to this my rude letter, that I may know on what and how far I may depend. But, if it does not please you to answer in writing ; let me know some place, where I may have it by word of mouth, and I will go thither with all my heart. No more, for fear of tiring you. Written by the hand of him, who would willingly remain yours,

H. Rex.

V. T.F.

FOR a present so valuable, that nothing could be more (considering the whole of it) I return you my most hearty thanks ; not only on account of the costly diamond, and the ship in which the solitary damsel is tossed about ; but chiefly for the fine interpretation, and too humble submission, which your goodness hath made to me. For I think it would be very difficult for me to find an occasion to deserve it, if I was not assisted by your great humanity and favour, which I have sought, do seek, and will always seek to preserve by all the services in my power ; and this is my firm intention and hope, according to the motto, *Aut illic, aut nullibi*, (either here, or no where). The demonstrations of your affection are such, the fine thoughts of your letter so cordially expressed, that they oblige me for ever to honour, love, and serve you sincerely, beseeching you to continue in the same firm and constant purpose ; and assuring you, that, on my part, I will not only make you a suitable return ; but out-do you in loyalty of heart, if it be possible. I desire you also, that if at any time before this, I have in any sort offended you, you would give me the same absolution

which you ask ; assuring you, that hereafter my heart shall be dedicated to you alone ; I wish my body was so too ; God can do it, if he pleases ; to whom I pray once a day for that end ; hoping that at length my prayers will be heard. I wish the time may be short, but I shall think it long, till we shall see one another. Written by the hand of the secretary, who in heart, body, and will, is

Your loyal

and most assured servant.

H. no other (AB) seeks Rex.

VI. O.

THE reasonable request of your last letter, with the pleasure I also take to know them, causes me to send you now this news. The legat, which we most desire, arrived at Paris on Sunday or Monday last past ; * so that I trust, by the next Monday, to hear of his arrival at Calais : and then, I trust, within a while after, to enjoy that which I have so longed for, to God's pleasure, and our both comforts. No more to you, at this present, mine awne darling, for lake of time ; but that I would you were in myne arms, or I in yours ; for I think it long since I kyst you. Written after the killing of an hart, at XI of the clock : Minding with God's grace to-morrow, mightily tymely to kill another, by the hand of him, which I trust shortly shall be yours,

HENRY R.

VII. O.

DARLING, though I have skant leasure, yet, remembering my promise, I thought it convenient to certifie

* This relates to the shilly-shallying of Rome to which allusion has been made. In 1527 Henry solicited the Pope for a commission to judge the validity of his marriage with Catherine. A decretal bull was given but only shewn, not handed, to the King and Wolsey by Campegio. Later, the Pope, regretting his having gone so far, sent one Campana to see the bull secretly burnt. Lord Herbert says this was the chief reason why Campegio's coffers were ransacked—"to recover that decretal bull our King so much longed for."

you brevely, in what case our affaires stand. As touching a lodging for you, we have gotten wone by my Lord Cardinal's means, the like whereof could not have been found hereabouts for all causes, as this bearer shall more shew you. As touching our other affairs, I ensure you there can be no more done, or more diligence used, nor all manner of dangers better both foreseen and provided for ; so that I trust it shall be hereafter to both our comforts, the specialities whereof were both to long to be writne, and hardly by messenger to be declared. Wherefor till you repaire hydder, I keep something in store, trusting it shall not be long to. For I have caused my lord, your father, to make his provisions with speed. And thus, for lake of tyme, darling, I make an end of my letter ; writeing with the hand of him, which I would were yours,

H. R.

VIII. O.

THE cause of my writeing at this time (good sweetheart) is wonly to understand off your good health and prosperity ; whereof to know, I would be as glad as in manner myne awne ; praying God, that and it be his pleasure, to send us shortly togydder ; for I promise you I long for it, howbeit, trust it shall not be long to : and seeing my darling is absent, I can no less do, than to send her some fleshe representing my name, which is harts fleshe for Henry ; prognosticating, that hereafter (God willing) you must enjoy some of mine ; which, if he pleased, I wolde were now. As touching your sister's matter, I have caused Walter Welche to write to my lord mine mind therein ; whereby, I trust that Eve shall not have power to deceave Adam. For surely, whatsoever is said, it cannot so stand with his honour, but that he must needs take her his natural daughter now in her extreame necessity. No more to you at this tyme, mine own darling, but that with a

wishe I would we were togydder one evening ; with the hand of your

H. R.

IX. T.F.

ALTHOUGH, my mistress, you have not been pleased to remember the promise which you made me when I was last with you, which was, that I should hear news of you, and have an answer to my last letter ; yet I think it belongs to a true servant (since otherwise he can know nothing) to send to enquire of his mistress's health ; and, for to acquit myself of the office of a true servant, I send you this letter ; begging you to give me an account of the state you are in, which I pray God may continue as long in prosperity, as I wish my own : and, that you may the oftener remember me, I send you, by this bearer, a buck killed late last night by my hand ; hoping, when you eat of it, you will think on the hunter : and thus for want of more room I will make an end of my letter. Written by the hand of your servant, who often wishes you in your brother's room.

H. Rex.

X. T.F.

THE approach of the time, which I have so long expected, rejoices me so much, that it seems almost ready come. However, the intire accomplishment cannot be till the two persons meet, which meeting is more desired by me than any thing in this world : for what joy can be greater upon earth, than to have the company of her who is my dearest friend ? Knowing likewise that she does the same on her part ; the thinking on which gives great pleasure. You may judge what an effect the presence of that person must have on me, whose absence has made a greater wound in my heart than either words or writing can express ; and which nothing can cure, but her return. I beg you, dear mistress, to tell your father from me, that I desire him to

hasten the appointment by two days, that he may be in court before the Old Term, or at farthest on the day prefixed ; for otherwise I shall think, he will not do the lover's turn, (as he said he would,) nor answer my expectation. No more at present, for want of time : hoping shortly, that by word of mouth I shall tell you the rest of my sufferings from your absence. Written by the hand of the secretary, who wishes himself at present privately with you ; and who is, and always will be,

Your loyal
and most assured servant,
H. no other (AB) seeks Rex.

XI. T.F.

THERE came to me, in the night, the most afflicting news possible. For I have reason to grieve upon three accounts. First, because I heard of the sickness of my mistress ; whom I esteem more than all the world, whose health I desire as much as my own, and the half of whose sickness I would willingly bear to have her cured. Secondly, because I fear I shall suffer yet longer that tedious absence, which has hitherto given me all possible uneasiness ; and, as far as I can judge, is like to give me more. I pray God, he would deliver me from so troublesome a tormentor. The third reason is, because the physician, in whom I trust most, is absent at present, when he could do me the greatest pleasure. For I should hope by him, and his means, to obtain one of my principal joys in this world, that is, my mistress cured ; however, in default of him, I send you the second, and the only one left ; praying God, that he may soon make you well, and then I shall love him more than ever. I beseech you to be governed by his advices, with relation to your illness ; by your doing which, I hope shortly to see you again, which will be to me a greater cordial than all the precious stones in the

world. Written by the secretary who is, and always will be,

Your loyal
and most assured servant,
H. (AB) R.

XII. O.

SINCE your last letters, myne awne darling ; Water Welche, Master Brown, John Care, Yrion of Brearton, John Cocke the pothecary, be fallen of the swett in this house, and thankyd be God all well recovered, so that as yet the pleague is not fully ceased here ; but I trust shortly it shall by the mercy of God : the rest of us yet be well, and I trust shall passe it, either not to have it, or at the least as easily as the rest have don. As touching the matter of Wylton, my Lord Cardinal hath had the nunys before him, and examined them, Master Bell being present ; which hath certified me that for a truth, that she hath confessed her self (which we would have had abbesse) to have had two children by two sundry priests ; and further, since hath been kepted by a servant of the Lord Broke, that was, and that not long ago. Wherefor, I would not for all the gold in the world clog your conscience nor mine to make her ruler of a house, which is of so ungodly demeanour ; nor I trust you would not, that neither for brother nor sister I should so destain mine honour or conscience. And as touching the pryoresse, or Dame Ellenor's eldest sister, though there is not any evident case proved against them, and that the pryoresse is so old, that of many years she could not be as she was named ; yet notwithstanding, to do you pleasure, I have don that neither of them shall have it, but that some other good and well disposed woman shall have it : whereby the house shall be the better reformed (whereof, I ensure you, it had much need) and God much the better served. As touching abode at Hever, do therein as best shall like you ; for you know best what aire doth best with

you : but I would it were come thereto (if it pleased God) that neither of us need care for that, for I ensure you I think it long. Suche is fallen sick of the swett, and therefor I send you this bearer, because I think you long to hear tydings from us, as we do in likewise from you. Writeing with the hand,

De votre seul,

(of yours only)

H. R.

XIII. O.

DARLING, these shall be only to advertise you, that this bearer, and his fellow, be dispatched with as many things to compasse our matter, and to bring it to passe, as our wits could imagine or devise ; which brought to passe, as I trust, by their diligence, it shall be ; shortly you and I shall have our desired end ; which should be more to my heart's ease, and more quietnesse to my minde, than any other thing in this world, as with God's grace shortly I trust shall be proved ; but not so soon as I would it were : yet I will assure you there shall be no tyme lost, that may be wone, and further cannot be done, for *ultra posse non est esse*. Keep him not too long with you, but desire him for your sake to make the more speed ; for the sooner we shall have word from him, the sooner shall our matter come to passe ; and thus, upon trust of your short repair to London, I make an end of my letter, mine awne sweetheart. Writne with the hand of him, which desyreth as much to be yours, as you do to have him.

H. R.

XIV. O.

DARLING, I heartily recommend me to you ; ascertaining you, that I am not a little perplexed with such things as your brother shall on my part declare unto you, to whom I pray you give full credence, for it were too long to write. In my last letters I writ to you that

I trusted shortly to see you, which is better known at London than with any that is about me ; whereof I not a little mervelle, but lake of descreet handling must needs be the cause thereof. No more to you at this tyme ; but that I trust shortly, our meeting shall not depend upon other men's light handlings, but upon your awne. Writne with the hand of him, that longeth to be yours,

H. R.

XV. O.

MYNE awne sweetheart, this shall be to advertise you of the great ellingness* that I find here since your departing ; for I assure you, me thinketh the tyme longer since your departing now last, then I was wont to do a whole fortnight. I think your kindness and my fervence of love causeth it ; for otherwise I would not thought it possible, that for so little a while it should have grieved me ; but now that I am comeing towards you, methinketh my pains been half released, and also I am right well comforted ; insomuch, that my book maketh substantially for my matter, in writing whereof I have spent above IIII hours this day, which caused me now to write the shorter letter to you at this tyme, because of some payne in my head ; wishing myself (specially an evening) in my sweetheart's armes, whose pritty duckys I trust shortly to kysse. Writne with the hand of him that was, is, and shall be, yours by this will,

H. R.

XVI. O.

TO informe you what joye it is to me to understand of your conformableness with reasone, and of the suppressing of your inutile and vain thoughts and fantasies with the bridle of reasone, I assure you all the good of this world could not counterpoise for my satisfaction the knowledge and certainty thereof : wherefore, good

* Solitariness.

sweetheart, continue the same not only in this, but in all your doings hereafter ; for thereby shall come, both to you and me, the greatest quietnesse that may be in this world. The cause why this bearer stayeth so long, is the business that I have had to dresse up geer for you, which I trust ere long to see you occupye, and then I trust to occupye yours, which shall be recompence enough to me for all my pains and labours. The unfayned sickness of this well-willing legate doth somewhat retard his accesse to your person ; but I trust verily, when God shall send him health, he will with diligence recompence his demurre ; for I know well where he hath said (lamenting the saying, and brute,* that he shall be thought imperial) that it shall be well known in this matter, that he is not imperial. And this, for lake of tyme, farewell. Writne with the hand which faine would be yours, and so is the heart.

H. R.

XVII

(From Anne Boleyn, to Cardinal Wolsey.)

MY Lord, in my most humblest wise that my heart can think, I desire you to pardon me that I am so bold, to trouble you with my simple and rude writing ; esteeming it to proceed from her, that is much desirous to know that your Grace does well, as I perceived by this bearer that you do. The which I pray God long to continue, as I am most bound to pray ; for I do know the great pains and troubles that you have taken for me, both day and night, is never like to be recompenced on my part, but alonely in loving you, next unto the King's Grace, above all creatures living. And I do not doubt, but the daily proofs of my deeds shall manifestly declare and affirm my writing to be true ; and I do trust you do think the same. My Lord, I do assure you, I do long to hear from you news of the legate : for I do hope, and

* Noise, report.

they come from you, they shall be very good ; and I am sure you desire it as much as I, and more, and it were possible, as I know it is not. And thus, remaining in a stedfast hope, I make an end of my letter ; written with the hand of her, that is most bound to be,

Postscript, by King Henry.

THE writer of this letter would not cease, till she had caused me likewise to set to my hand ; desiring you, though it be short, to take it in good part. I ensure you, there is neither of us, but that greatly desireth to see you, and much more joyous to hear that you have scaped this plague so well ; trusting the fury thereof to be passed, specially with them that keepeth good diet, as I trust you do. The not hearing of the legate's arrival in France, causeth us somewhat to muse ; notwithstanding, we trust by your diligence and vigilancy (with the assistance of Almighty God) shortly to be eased out of that trouble. No more to you at this time ; but that I pray God send you as good health and prosperity, as the writer would.

By your

loving Sovereign and friend,

HENRY K.

Your humble Servant,

ANNE BOLEYN.

XVIII

MY Lord, in my most humble wise that my poor heart can think, I do thank your Grace for your kind letter, and for your rich and goodly present ; the which I shall never be able to deserve without your help, of the which I have hitherto had so great plenty, that, all the days of my life, I am most bound, of all creatures, next the King's Grace, to love and serve your Grace : of the which, I beseech you, never to doubt, that ever I shall vary from this thought, as long as any breath is in my body. And, as touching your Grace's trouble

with the sweat, I thank our Lord, that them that I desired and prayed for are scaped ; and that is the King and you : not doubting, but that God has preserved you both, for great causes known alonely of his high wisdom. And as for the coming of the legate, I desire that much ; and, if it be God's pleasure, I pray him to send this matter shortly to a good end ; and then I trust, my Lord, to recompence part of your great pains. In the which, I must require you, in the mean time to accept my good will in the stead of the power, the which must proceed partly from you, as our Lord knoweth ; to whom I beseech to send you long life, with continuance in honour. Written with the hand of her, that is most bound to be

Your humble and
obedient servant,
ANNE BOLEYN.*

XIX

(Queen Anne Boleyn's last Letter to King Henry.)

Sir,

YOUR Grace's displeasure, and my imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send unto me (willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your favour) by such an one whom you know to be mine antient professed enemy ; I no sooner received this message by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning : and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command.

But let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault,

* Here enters the further problem of Anne's sincerity. Cavendish's view of the matter generally is doubtless coloured by his regard for Wolsey, but there can be but small doubt that she was mainly instrumental in bringing about the Cardinal's ruin. Probably she had occasional hopes of wooing him wholly to her side, but she must have intuitively divined his divided allegiance.

where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And, to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn ; with which name and place I could willingly have contented my self, if God and your Grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation, or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as now I find ; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your Grace's fancy, the least alteration, I knew, was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other subject. You have chosen me, from a low estate, to be your Queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you found me worthy of such honour, good your Grace, let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me ; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good Grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess your daughter. Try me, good King ; but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges : yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame : then shall you see, either mine innocency cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that, whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open censure ; and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto : your Grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein.

But, if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring

you the enjoying of your desired happiness ; then I desire of God, that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies, the instruments thereof ; and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at his general judgment-seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear ; and in whose judgment, I doubt not, (whatsoever the world may think of me) mine innocence shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared.

My last and only request shall be, that my self may only bear the burthen of your Grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight ; if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request ; and I will so leave to trouble your Grace any further, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity, to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower, this sixth of May.

Your most loyal and ever
Faithful Wife,

ANNE BOLEYN.

A note as to Shakespeare's *Henry VIII.* We may doubt if the dramatist permitted himself a free hand with this great subject. It was, as Brandes points out, too near so recent a king as Elizabeth's father. Too great a deference to Elizabeth herself is also evident. Shakespeare seems to have been inspired by the wrongs of Catherine, but this does not stay him from eulogizing Anne Boleyn (Elizabeth's mother, of course—"saint-like," one of the characters calls her!) and making a great pother about the future Virgin Queen's birth. It may be true that the play, as many critics believe, is not entirely by Shakespeare, but it is absurd to go so far as others who declare that it was not

written by him at all. For one point alone, no other person could have written :

I swear 'tis better to be lowly born,
And range with humble livers in content,
Than to be perk'd up in a glistening grief,
And wear a golden sorrow.

In terming such critics "competent" Brandes damages his own case for the theory that the play is not wholly Shakespeare's. He is suspect, moreover, in declaring that Wolsey's monologues after his fall are by Fletcher. That author would have given his ears to write :

Cromwell, I charge thee, fling away ambition ;
By that sin fell the angels. . . .

However, the point I wish to make is that the play is not to be accepted for a reliable view of a great and fascinating drama in which not the creations of a man of genius but men and women once lived and moved and had their being.

IV

A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY HERESIARCH

A modest Account of the wicked Life of that grand Impostor, Lodowick Muggleton : wherein are related all the remarkable Actions he did, and all the strange Accidents that have befallen him, ever since his first coming to London, to this Twenty-fifth of January, 1676. Also a Particular of those Reasons, which first drew him to these damnable Principles : with several pleasant Stories concerning him, proving his Commission to be but counterfeit, and himself a Cheat ; from divers Expressions which have fallen from his own Mouth. Licensed according to Order. Printed at London for B. H. in 1676.

TRUE modesty would turn sadly away from this "modest account." Strolling shamelessly beyond the bounds of fairness and truth it is reprinted only for its lively touches. Witness the description of the Muggletonian with the "young baggage in his hand," the dig at Cromwell, and the realism with which the unpleasantness of the pillory is brought home to us. Muggleton seems really to have been not a bad fellow at all. From the apparently unbiassed account of him in the Dictionary of National Biography it is to be gathered that he advocated an honest and just natural life and an agnostic position towards all theology. We are further informed that, fond as he was of pipe and glass, he would tolerate no sort of vice in his community. Coope, vicar of Chesterfield, examining him once, declared him "the soberest, wisest man of a fanatic he ever talked with." Writing to George Fox, the Quaker, with whom he had many controversies, "I always," says Muggleton, "loved the persecuted better than the persecutor."

Born in 1609, a Cockney, he had the honour of being baptised by Stephen Gosson, the celebrated author of

The Schoole of Abuse. A tall man with aquiline nose, high cheek bones, hazel eyes and long auburn hair, his portrait is in the National Portrait Gallery. He died at a ripe old age in 1698, and there are still Muggletonians professing his tenets. The Reeve mentioned here, his one time fellow labourer in the vineyard, held the notion that the sun travels round the earth and that Heaven is six miles from us !

Lodowick Muggleton was born of poor, though honest parents, living at Chippenham, within fifteen miles of Bristol. His relations having but little means and a great charge of children to maintain ; they were forced to send their daughters to wait on their neighbouring gentry, and to place their sons to such trades as cost little binding them apprentices : but, amongst all the rest of those of this worshipful brood they were blessed withal, they might have observed, even in his cunicular * days, in this Lodowick Muggleton, an obstinate, dissentious, and opposive spirit ; which made them desirous to settle him at some distance from them, and also to bind him to such a trade and master, as might curb him from that freedom which the moroseness of his coarse nature extorted from his too indulgent parents. By which means, as soon as he had made some small inspection into his accidence, without any other accomplishment besides a little writing and casting of accompts, he was hurried up to London, and there bound apprentice to one of the cross-legged order, but of an indifferent reputation in the place where he lived, though by trade a taylor. We will pass over the parenthesis of his youth in silence, therein being nothing but the usual waggeries, which generally recommend to our expectation something remarkable, when the useful extravagancies shall be seasoned with age.

When the time of his apprenticeship grew near its

* Latin *cunæ*, a cradle.

expiration, so that he was admitted more liberty than formerly was granted him, he was observed to be a great haunter of conventicles ; insomuch that there could not a dissenting nonconformist diffuse his sedition in any obscure corner of the city, but this Lodowick Muggleton would have a part of it : by which means, continuing in the same idle curiosity, and taking great observation on that unknown gain many of that canting tribe got by their deluded auditors, he proposed to himself a certain and considerable income to be got by the same means, by which he had observed many of those great pretenders gull both himself and others : for a rooked conventicler, like a bankrupt gamester, having for some time been culled out of his money ; learns the trick, sets up hector, and trades for himself.

Thus did Lodowick Muggleton, by sliding out of one religion into another, so dissatisfy his judgment, and run himself from the solid basis of his first principles ; first, degenerating from the orthodox tenets of the Church of England to Presbytery ; from thence to Independency ; thence to Anabaptism ; thence to Quakerism ; and lastly, to no religion at all.

When men have thus once fooled themselves out of religion and a good conscience, it is no wonder that their secular interests draw them into all sorts of impiety and profaneness, as it has done this Lodowick Muggleton : who, though in himself a poor, silly, despicable creature, yet had the confidence to think he had parts enough to wheedle a company of silly, credulous proselytes, out of their souls and estates. And, indeed, he has had such admirable success in that wicked enterprise, that though we cannot absolutely conclude that he has cheated them of the first ; yet we can prove, if occasion were, that he has defrauded them of the latter : as has been often told him, since the first day of his standing in the pillory.

It has been told already, how this impious impostor

lays claim to a counterfeit commission, whereby he has infected the truths of many honest, ignorant people, with an extraordinary power, that was delivered to him by as infamous a blasphemer as himself, John Reeve ; who, as he formerly rivalled Muggleton in impiety, had he been yet living, should certainly have clubbed with him in his deserved punishment.

It is about twenty-one years, since this impudent creature began his impostures ; who knowing himself as defective of reason as of religion, made it one of the grand maxims of his policy, that his proselytes should be fully persuaded, contrary to all sense or probability. Reason was that great beast, spoken of in the Revelation ; and, consequently, not to be consulted withal, as to the examining of any fundamental point in religion : whereby he secured both himself and his shallow disciples, from all those frequent disputations and arguings, which, otherwise, must necessarily have diverted them from adhering to his damnable, impious, and irrational tenets ; which I purposely omit, as being too insufferably profane for the modest ear of any sober, well-meaning Christian.

But we may judge a little of the theorick by the practick ; I mean, of his principles by his practices ; and of the soundness of his doctrine by those duties he held himself, and his followers, obliged to, in the performance of it ; which indeed were none at all : it being his usual custom, when they met on the sabbath-day, to entertain them with a pig of their own sow ; I mean, with wine, strong drink, or victuals ; which either they sent in before-hand, or brought along with them ; allowing them to be as licentious as they pleased, in all things that might gratify, or indulge their senses.

A friend of mine was, one Sunday, walking in the fields ; and, meeting there an old acquaintance of his, who was lately turned Muggletonian, with a young baggage in his hand, which he did more than suspect

was light ; he could not forbear expressing his admiration, to this Muggletonian himself, in these, or such-like terms : “ I cannot but wonder to see you, my old neighbour, who have for these many years busied yourself in the study of religion, and was, not long since, like to have gone mad, because you knew not which opinion to stick to : I say, I cannot but wonder to see you abroad on the sabbath-day, in this brisk posture : you are altered both in countenance, apparel, and manners, so that I almost doubt, whom I speak to.” “ Ah ! (answered the Muggletonian) you know, friend, how I have heretofore troubled myself about religion indeed, insomuch that it had almost cost me my life ; but all in vain, till about six weeks since ; at which time I met with Lodowick Muggleton, who has put me into the easiest way to Heaven, that ever was invented ; for he gives us liberty, provided we do but believe in his commission, freely to launch into all those pleasures, which others, less knowing, call vices ; and, after all, will assure us of eternal salvation.” Behold, reader, what a sweet religion here is like to be.

But, as Muggleton was liberal in the freedom he gave his adherents, so he was always careful to avoid the prohibitions of the law : he generally appointed his bubbles to meet in the fields, where he also permitted them to humour their sensualities with any recreation, not excepting uncleanness itself ; for which profaning the sabbath he was, in Oliver Cromwell’s time, committed to Newgate, where he had like to have been so dealt withal then, that Tyburn had saved the pillory this trouble now. But that perfidious usurper, conscious to himself that Muggleton could not be a greater impostor in the church than he was in the state, upon the consideration of *fratres in malis*, restored him to his liberty.

Howbeit, a little before Oliver’s death, Muggleton, by continual flatteries, had got into his books ; and, amongst other prophecies concerning him, had de-

clared, that Oliver should perform more wonderful actions, than any he had yet atchieved, before he died. But, he happening to depart this life, before he had done any thing else that was remarkable, Muggleton was demanded, " why his prophecy proved not true ? " He answered very wisely, and like himself, viz. " That he was sure Oliver would have performed them, had he lived long enough."

But since his gracious Majesty's return, he has driven on a much more profitable theological cheat, having assumed the liberty not only of infusing what doctrine he pleased into the minds of his ignorant deluded followers, but writ several profane books ; which, to his great advantage, he dispersed among them ; poisoning their minds thereby with a hodge-podge of rotten tenets, whereby they are become incapable of relishing the more sound, wholesome, and undoubted principles of the Church of England.

I shall conclude with one story more concerning Muggleton, and so leave him to the censure of the ingenuous reader. A timish gentleman, accoutered with sword and peruke, hearing the noise this man caused in the town, had a great desire to discourse with him, whom he found alone in his study ; and, taking advantage of that occasion, he urged Muggleton so far, that, knowing not what to say, he falls to a solemn cursing of the gentleman ; who was so enraged thereat, that he drew his sword, and swore he would run him through immediately, unless he recanted the sentence of damnation, which he had presumptuously cast upon him. Muggleton, perceiving, by the gentleman's looks, that he really intended what he threatened, did not only recant his curse, but pitifully entreated him whom he had cursed before ; by which we may understand the invalidity both of him and his commission.

Thus, whoever considers the contents of Muggleton's whole life, will find it, *in toto*, nothing but a continued cheat of above twenty-one years long ; which,

in the catastrophe, he may behold worthily rewarded with the modest punishment of a wooden ruff, or pillory ; his grey hairs gilded with dirt and rotten eggs ; and, in fine, himself brought (by reason of his own horrid and irreligious actions) into the greatest scorn and contempt imaginable, by all the lovers of piety, discretion, or good manners.

V

THE GUNPOWDER TREASON

THE various pamphlets on the Gunpowder Treason as with many others in the Miscellany, are too lengthy, and the style at times too prolix, here to be given in full. Everybody knows the main particulars, but there are a few details, not usually touched upon by historians, which seem to make yet another account justifiable. Interesting news to many, for instance, may be that which tells of one of the means by which the guilt of Garnet, the Jesuit, was brought home to him. This priest, a prime agent in the affair and "a perfect master in the art of dissimulation," when in prison awaiting trial was allowed to send letters to his friends. Very foolishly he "filled up the void places with other more secret matters, written indeed, but written with the juice of a lemon." It is quite likely that this method of writing has an antique origin, but I do not know of an earlier instance on record.

The Plot had its roots in the last year of Elizabeth, in 1601, when, with English Roman Catholic assistance, another Spanish invasion was projected, 200,000 crowns being allotted for the purpose by the King of Spain. With Elizabeth's death, however, and peace following between the two countries, the earlier conspirators, Garnet, Robert Catesby, Thomas Winter, Francis Tresham, Thomas Percy and Guy Fawkes, among others, were compelled either to forsake their design or adopt new methods. It was Catesby who seems to have hit upon the idea of blowing up James I. and his Parliament by gunpowder. He had some scruples as to sending Catholics sky-high with "here-

tics," but these were resolved by Garnet's view that, for the general benefit of the Catholic cause, it was lawful that the innocent should suffer with the guilty. Incidentally, it was afterwards computed that had the 36 barrels, containing some ten thousand pounds of powder, exploded, no less than 30,000 persons would have lost their lives or been injured. This was perhaps an exaggeration, but we may well conceive that many others than those immediately within the Houses of Parliament would have been affected.

It is remarkable that during the three years or so which followed, many others being taken into the conspiracy, nothing was divulged until ten days before November the fifth, 1605, when Parliament was to meet and the explosion timed to take place. A letter was then sent to Lord Monteagle running as follows :—

"My Lord, Out of the love, I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation : therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this Parliament ; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your own country, where you may expect the event in safety : For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurt them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good and can do you no harm : for the danger is past, as soon as you shall have burned this letter ; and I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it ; to whose holy protection I commend you."

Doubt still exists, it seems, as to the writer of this somewhat ambiguous warning. According to Thomas Winter's deposition in prison, Tresham, taxed in the

matter, "forswore it," and the recipient himself is said to have "vehemently suspected Thos. Percy . . . from the intimacy that had been betwixt them." The letter, at any rate, was the undoing of the conspirators. Mont-eagle having discussed it with the Earls Suffolk and Salisbury, there followed a general confabulation in which the King took part; * the rooms beneath the Houses of Parliament were searched; and Guy Fawkes, "standing without the door of the cellar," was apprehended. There were then discovered the barrels hidden "beneath a thousand billets and five hundred faggots." Fawkes, a resolute villain, promptly admitted to his captors that "if he had happened to be within the house, as he was without; he would by putting fire to the train, have put an end to their enquiry."

Thus ended what was perhaps the greatest danger that ever threatened the security of these islands. The confusion which followed among the conspirators is vividly described by Winter in his confession. Well posted with news, they had heard of Monteagle's having made public the letter, and now, the taking of Fawkes being known, they made helter-skelter for the midlands. Wright "rode fast up Fleet-Street as he can ride." Winter "went to the stable where my gelding stood and rode into the country." Most of them were killed or captured at Holbeach in Worcestershire. "I asked them what they resolved to do," says Winter. "They answered, 'We mean here to die.' I said again, 'I would take such part as they did.' About eleven of the clock came the company to beset the house, and as I walked into the court I was shot into the shoulder, which lost me the use of my arm; the next shot was the elder Wright struck dead; after him the younger

* James, in a speech to Parliament (where, *inter alia*, he compared "these two great and fearful doomsdays"—the averted disaster and the Flood) claimed that he himself first realised that the letter pointed to a massacre by gunpowder, but there is no doubt it was first rightly interpreted by Suffolk and Salisbury.

Mr. Wright; and fourthly Ambrose Rookwood. Then said Mr. Catesby to me (standing before the door they were to enter) 'Stand by me, Tom, and we will die together.' 'Sir (quoth I), I have lost the use of my right arm, and I fear that will cause me to be taken.' So, as we stood close together, Mr. Catesby, Mr. Percy, and myself, they two were shot (as far as I could guess, with one bullet), and then the company entered upon me, hurt me in the belly with a pike, and gave me other wounds, until one came behind and caught hold of both my arms."

A few of the conspirators escaped overseas to safety, though certainly to no rapturous welcome by foreigners sharing to some extent the almost universal English horror. We are told of one of them that when assured by Dominicus Vicus, Governor of Calais, that "though they lost their own country they might be received there," he boldly retorted, "The loss of their country was the least part of their grief; but that their sorrow was that they could not bring so brave a design to perfection." Whereat, "the Governor could hardly forbear casting him into the sea."

The remainder "died game," on the scaffold; "taking tobacco," as one chronicler tells us, "as if that hanging were no trouble to them." He goes on to record that "Keyes, like a desperate villain, using little speech, with small or no shew of repentance, went stoutly up the ladder; where, not staying the hangman's turn, he turned himself off with such a leap, that with the swing he brake the halter; but, after his fall, was quickly drawn to the block, and there was quickly divided into four parts." The end of "the great devil of all, Fawkes, *alias* Johnson," was scarcely less terrible. "His body being weak with torture and sickness, he was scarce able to go up the ladder; but yet with much ado, by the help of the hangman, went high enough to break his neck with the fall . . . and with his crosses and his idle ceremonies, made his end

upon the gallows and the block ; to the great joy of the beholders, that the land was ended of so wicked a villainy."

This was the crime, the failure of which is still celebrated each fifth of November by the small boys of England, who at such time inform us that they " see no reason why Gunpowder Treason should ever be forgot." The celebrations would fall into desuetude, perhaps, if firework manufacturers were not heartily in agreement with them.

VI

THE ORDER OF THE BATH

THE Order of the Bath was instituted by Henry IV. in 1399, the last ceremony to follow the ancient form being that which took place at the coronation of Charles II. in 1661. Minds innocent and quiet may need to be informed that it is no longer deemed necessary that Esquires—i.e. candidates for the honour—should be bathed or “stay in the chapel all night, till it be day, bestowing themselves in orisons and prayers.”

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1. When an Esquire comes to court, to receive the order of knighthood, in the time of peace, according to the custom of England, he shall be honourably received by the officers of the court ; sc. the steward or the chamberlain, if they be present ; but otherwise, by the marshals and ushers. Then there shall be provided two Esquires of honour, grave and well seen in courtship and nurture ; as also in the feats of chivalry ; and they shall be Esquires, and governors in all things relating to him, who shall take the order abovesaid.

2. And if the Esquire do come before dinner, he shall carry up one dish of the first course to the King's table.

3. And after this, the Esquire's governors shall conduct the Esquire that is to receive the order, into his chamber, without any more being seen that day.

4. And, in the evening, the Esquire's governors shall send for the barber, and they shall make ready a bath, handsomely hung with linen, both within and without the vessel ; taking care that it be covered with

tapestry, and blankets, in respect of the coldness of the night. And then shall the Esquire be shaven, and his hair cut round. After which the Esquire's governors shall go to the King, and say, "Sir, it is now in the evening, and the Esquire is fitted for the bath, when you please:" whereupon the King shall command his chamberlain, that he shall take along with him unto the Esquire's chamber, the most gentle and grave Knights that are present; to inform, counsel, and instruct him, touching the order, and feats of chivalry: and in like manner, that the other Esquires of the household, with the minstrels, shall proceed before the Knights, singing, dancing, and sporting, even to the chamber-door of the said Esquire.

5. And when the Esquire's governors shall hear the noise of the minstrels, they shall undress the said Esquire, and put him naked into the bath: but, at the entrance into the chamber, the Esquire's governors shall cause the musick to cease, and the Esquires also for a while. And this being done, the grave Knights shall enter into the chamber, without making any noise; and, doing reverence to each other, shall consider which of themselves it shall be that is to instruct the Esquire in the order and course of the bath. And when they are agreed, then shall the chief of them go to the bath, and, kneeling down before it, say with a soft voice: "Sir! be this bath of great honour to you:" and then he shall declare unto him the feats of the order, as far as he can; putting part of the water of the bath upon the shoulder of the Esquire; and, having so done, take his leave. And the Esquire's governors shall attend at the sides of the bath, and so likewise the other Knights, the one after the other, till all be done.

6. Then shall these Knights go out of the chamber, for a while; and the Esquire's governors shall take the Esquire out of the bath, and help him to his bed, there to continue till his body be dry; which bed shall be plain, and without curtains. And, as soon as he is dry,

they shall help him out of bed ; they shall clothe him very warm, in respect of the cold of the night ; and over his inner garments shall put on a robe of russet with long sleeves, having a hood thereto, like unto that of an hermit. And the Esquire being out of the bath, the barber shall take away the bath, with whatsoever appertaineth thereto, both within and without, for his fee ; and likewise for the collar (about his neck) be he Earl, Baron, Banneret, or Batchelor, according to the custom of the court.

7. And then shall the Esquire's governors open the door of the chamber, and shall cause the antient and grave Knights to enter, to conduct the Esquire to the chapel. And, when they are come in, the Esquires, sporting and dancing, shall go before the Esquire, with the minstrels, making melody, to the chapel.

8. And being entered the chapel, there shall be wine and spices ready to give to the Knights and Esquires. And then the Esquire's governors shall bring the said Knights before the Esquire, to take their leave of him ; and he shall give them thanks all together, for the pains, favour, and courtesy, which they have done him ; and, this being performed, they shall depart out of the chapel.

9. Then shall the Esquire's governors shut the door of the chapel, none staying therein except themselves, the priest, the chandler, and the watch. And in this manner shall the Esquire stay in the chapel all night, till it be day, bestowing himself in orisons and prayers ; beseeching Almighty God, and his blessed Mother, that of their good grace they will give him ability to receive this high temporal dignity, to the honour, praise, and service of them ; as also of the holy Church, and the order of Knighthood. And, at day-break, one shall call the priest to confess him of all his sins ; and, having heard mattins and mass, shall afterwards be commended if he please.

10. And after his entrance into the chapel, there shall

be a taper burning before him ; and, as soon as mass is begun, one of the governors shall hold the taper, until the reading of the Gospel ; and then shall the governor deliver it into his hands, who shall hold it himself, till the Gospel be ended ; but then he shall receive it again from him, and set it before him, there to stand, during the whole time of mass.

11. And, at the elevation of the Host, one of the governors shall take the hood from the Esquire, and afterwards deliver it to him again, until the Gospel *in principio* ; and, at the beginning thereof, the governor shall take the same hood again, and cause it to be carried away, and shall give him the taper again into his own hands.

12. And then, having a penny or more in readiness, near to the candlestick, at the words *Verbum caro factum est*, the Esquire, kneeling, shall offer the taper and the penny ; that is to say, the taper to the honour of God, and the penny to the honour of the person that makes him a Knight. All which being performed, the Esquire's governors shall conduct the Esquire to his chamber, and shall lay him again in bed, till it be full day-light. And when he shall be thus in bed, till the time of his rising he shall be clothed with a covering of gold, called singleton, and this shall be lined with blue cardene. And when the governors shall see it fit time, they shall go to the King, and say to him, " Sir ! When doth it please you, that our master shall rise ? " Whereupon the King shall command the grave Knights, Esquires, and minstrels, to go to the chamber of the said Esquire, for to raise him ; and to attire and dress him, and to bring him before him, into the hall. But, before their entrance, and the noise of the minstrels heard, the Esquire's governors shall provide all necessities ready for the order, to deliver to the Knights, for to attire and dress the Esquire.

And when the Knights are come to the Esquire's chamber, they shall enter with leave, and say to him ;

“ Sir ! Good morrow to you ; it is time to get up, and make yourself ready : ” and thereupon they shall take him by the arm to be dressed ; the most antient of the said Knights reaching him his shirt, another giving him his breeches, the third his doublet, and another putting upon him a kirtle of red tartarin : two others shall raise him from the bed, and two others put on his nether stockings, with soles of leather sewed to them ; two others shall lace his sleeves, and another shall gird him with a girdle of white leather, without any buckles thereon : another shall comb his head ; another shall put on his coif ; another shall give him his mantle of silk (over the bases or kirtle of red tartarin) tied with a lace of white silk, with a pair of white gloves hanging at the end of the lace. And the chandler shall take, for his fees, all the garments, with the whole array and necessities, wherewith the Esquire shall be apparelled and clothed on the day that he comes into the court to receive order : as also the bed, wherein he first lay, after his bathing ; together with the singleton and other necessities. In consideration of which fees, the same chandler shall find, at his proper costs, the said coif, the gloves, the girdle, and the lace.

13. And when all this is done, the grave Knights shall get on horseback, and conduct the Esquire to the hall, the minstrels going before, making musick : but the horse must be accoutred as followeth. The saddle having a cover of black leather, the bow of the saddle being of white wood quartered ; the stirrup-leathers black, the stirrups gilt ; the poitrel of black leather, gilt, with a cross-pate, gilt, hanging before the breast of the horse, but without any crupper : the bridle black, with long notched reins, after the Spanish fashion, and a cross-pate on the front. And there must be provided a young Esquire, courteous, who shall ride before the Esquire bareheaded, and carry the Esquire's sword, with the spurs hanging at the handle of the sword ; and the scabbard of the sword shall be

of white leather, and the girdle of white leather, without buckles. And the youth shall hold the sword by the point ; and after this manner must they ride to the King's hall, the governors being ready at hand.

14. And the grave Knights shall conduct the said Esquire ; and, as soon as they come before the hall-door, the marshals and ushers are to be ready to meet him, and desire him to alight ; and, being alighted, the marshal shall take the horse for his fee, or else C. s. Then shall the Knights conduct him into the hall, up to the high table, and afterwards up the end of the second table, until the King's coming, the Knights standing on each side of him, and the youth holding the sword upright before him, between the two governors.

15. And when the King is come into the hall, and beholdeth the Esquire ready to receive his high order, and temporal dignity ; he shall ask for the sword and spurs, which the chamberlain shall take from the youth, and shew to the King. And, thereupon, the King, taking the right spur, shall deliver it to the most noble and gentle person there, and shall say to him, " Put this upon the Esquire's heel ; " and he, kneeling on one knee, must take the Esquire by the right leg, and, putting his foot on his own knee, is to fasten the spur upon the right heel of the Esquire ; and then, making a cross upon the Esquire's knee, shall kiss him : which being done, another Knight must come, and put on his left spur, in like manner. And then shall the King, of his great favour, take the sword, and gird the Esquire therewith : whereupon the Esquire is to lift up his arms, holding his hands together, and the gloves betwixt his thumbs and fingers.

16. And the King, putting his own arms about the Esquire's neck, shall say, " Be thou a good Knight ; " and afterwards kiss him. Then are the antient Knights to conduct this new Knight to the chapel, with much musick, even to the high altar, and there he shall kneel ; and, putting his right hand upon the altar, is to promise

to maintain the rights of holy Church, during his whole life.

17. And then he shall ungird himself of his sword and, with great devotion to God and holy Church offer it there ; praying unto God, and all his Saints that he may keep that order which he hath so taken, even to the end. All which being accomplished, he is to take a draught of wine.

18. And, at his going out of the chapel, the King's master-cook, being ready to take off his spurs for his own fee, shall say, "I, the King's master-cook, am come to receive your spurs for my fee ; and if you do any thing contrary to the order of Knighthood, (which, God forbid !) I shall hack your spurs from your heels."

19. After this, the Knights must conduct him again into the hall, where he shall sit the first at the Knights' table, and the Knights about him ; himself to be served as the other Knights are ; but he must neither eat nor drink at the table, nor spit, nor look about him, upwards nor downwards, more than a bride. And this being done, one of his governors, having a handkerchief in his hand, shall hold it before his face when he is to spit. And when the King is risen from his table, and gone into his chamber, then shall the new Knight be conducted, with great store of Knights and minstrels proceeding before him, unto his own chamber ; and, at his entrance, the Knights and minstrels shall take leave of him, and go to dinner.

20. And the Knights being thus gone, the chamber-door shall be fastened, and the new Knight be disrobed of his attire, which is to be given to the Kings of Arms, in case they be there present ; and if not, then to the other heralds, if they be there ; otherwise, to the minstrels, together with a mark of silver, if he be a Knight-Bachelor ; if a Baron, double to that ; if an Earl, or of a superior rank, double thereto : and the russet night-cap must be given the watch, or else a noble.

21. Then is he to be clothed again with a blue robe,

the sleeves whereof to be straight, shaped after the fashion of a priest's, and upon his left shoulder, to have a lace of white silk, hanging. And he shall wear that lace upon all his garments, from that day forwards, until he hath gained some honour or renown by arms ; and is registered of as high record, as the Nobles, Knights, Esquires, and Heralds of Arms ; and be renowned for some feats of arms, as aforesaid ; or that some great prince, or most noble lady, can cut that lace from his shoulder, saying ; " Sir ! we have heard so much of the true renown concerning your honour, which you have done in divers parts, to the great fame of chivalry, as to yourself, and of him that made you a Knight, that it is meet this lace be taken from you."

22. After dinner, the Knights of honour and Gentlemen must come to the Knight, and conduct him into the presence of the King, the Esquire's governors going before him ; where, he is to say, " Right noble and renowned Sir ! I do, in all that I can, give you thanks for these honours, courtesies, and bounty, which you have vouchsafed to me : " and, having so said, shall take leave of the King.

23. Then are the Esquire's governors to take leave of this their master, saying, " Sir, we have, according to the King's command, and as we were obliged, done what we can ; but if through negligence, we have in aught displeased you, or by any thing we have done amiss at this time, we desire pardon of you for it. And on the other side, Sir, as right is, and according to the customs of the court, and antient kingdoms ; we do require our robes and fees, as the King's Esquires, Companions to Batchelors, and other Lords."

VII

ELYNOUR RUMMIN : THE FAMOUS ALE-WIFE OF ENGLAND

EXCEPTING some good sonnets by Henry Constable, the verse of the Miscellany is very flat and pedestrian. This ballad of Skelton's, however, galloping breakneck doggerel as it is, may amuse the reader with its lively glimpse of low life under Henry VIII. to whom Skelton was Laureate. The old ale-wife, whose "visage would assuage a man's courage," had, it seems, a real existence, for Aubrey, in his *Antiquities of Surrey*, confirms Skelton's statement that she "dwelt in Sothray, by side Lederhede," or Leatherhead as we now know it.

TO all tapsters and tiplers,
And all ale-house vitlers,
Inne-keepers, and cooks,
That for pot-sale lookes,
And will not giue measure,
But at your owne pleasure,
Contrary to law,
Scant measure will draw,
In pot, and in canne,
To cozen a man
Of his full quart a penny,
Of you there's too many :
For in King Harry's time,
When I made this rime,
Of Elynour Rummin,
With her good ale tunning ;
Our pots were full quarted,
We were not thus thwarted,
With froth-canne and nick-pot,
And such nimble quick-shot,
That a dowzen will score,
For twelue pints, and no more.
Full Winchester gage,
We had in that age ;
The Dutchman's strong beere
Was not hopt ouer heere,

To us 'twas unknowne ;
Bare ale of our owne,
In a bowle, we might bring,
To welcome the king,
And his grace to beseech,
With "Wassal my liege."
Nor did that time know
To puff and to blow
In a peece of white clay,
As you do at this day,
With fier and coale
And a leafe in a hole ;
As my ghost hath late seene,
As I walked betweene
Westminster-Hall
And the church of St. Paul,
And so thorow the citie,
Where I saw and did pittie
My countrymen's cases,
With fiery-smoake faces,
Sucking and drinking
A fylthie weede stinking
Was ne'er known before
Till the devil, and the More,
In th' Indies did meete,
And each other there greeete,

With a health they desire
Of stinke, smoake, and fier.
But who e'er doth abhorre it,
The city smoakes for it ;
Now full of fier-shops
And fowle spitting-chops,
So neeing and coughing,
That my ghost fell to scoffing,
And to my selfe said,
Here's fylthie fumes made :
Good physicke of force
To cure a sick horse.
Nor had we such slops,
And shagge-haire on our tops :
At wearing long haire,
King Harry would sweare,
And gaue a command,
With speede out of hand,
All heads should be powl'd,
Aswell young as old,
And his owne was first so,

Good ensample to show.
Y'are so out of fashion,
I know not our nation,
Your ruffes and your bands,
And your cufes at your hands ;
Your pipes and your smoakes
And your short curtall clokes ;
Scarfes, feathers, and swerds,
And thin bodkin beards ;
Your wastes a span long,
Your knees with points hung,
Like morris-daunce bels,
And many toyes els,
Which much I distate,
But Skelton's in haste.
My masters, farewell,
Reade ouer my Nell,
And tell what you thinke
Of her and her drinke ;
If she had brew'd amisse,
I had neuer wrote this.

The Tunning of Elynour of Rummin

TELL you I chill,
If that you will
A while be still,
Of a merry gyll,
That dwelt on hill,
But she is not grill :
For she is somewhat sage,
And well worne in age,
For her visage
It would asswage
A man's courage.
Her lothly leere
Is nothing cleere,
But ugly of cheere,
Droupy and drowsie,
Scurvy and lowsie,
Her face all bowsie ;
Comely cryncled,
Wondrously wrinkled,
Like a roast pigge's ear,
Bristled with haire,
Her lewd lips twaine,
They slauer, men sayne,
Like a ropie rayne.
A gummy glaire,
She is vgly faire,
Her nose somedeale hooked,
And camously crooked,
Neuer stopping,

But euer dropping ;
Her skin loose and slacke,
Grain'd like a sacke,
With a crooked backe ;
Her eyne gowndy,
Are full vnsoundy,
For they are bleared,
And she gray-haired,
Jawed like a jetty,
A man would haue pittie,
To see how shee's gum'd,
Finger'd and thumb'd,
Gently joynted,
Greas'd and annointed
Up to the knuckles,
The bones her buckels
Together made fast,
Her youth is farre past.
Footed like a plane,
Legged like a crane,
And yet she will jet,
Like a jolly set,
In her furred flocket,
And gray russet rocket,
With symper the cocket.
Her huke of Lyncolne greene,
It had bin hers I weene
More then fortie yeare ;
And so it doth appeare,

The greene bare threeds
 Looke like seere weedes,
 Wither'd like hay,
 The wooll worne away ;
 And yet, I dare say,
 She thinks her selfe gay,
 Upon the holyday,
 When she doth her aray,
 And girdeth in her geetes,
 Stitched with pleetes ;
 Her kirtill Bristow red,
 With clothes on her hed,
 That waigh a sow of lead.
 Writhen in a wonder-wise,
 After the Sarsan's guise,
 With a whim-wam,

Knit with a trim-tram,
 Upon her brain-pan,
 Like an Egyptian
 Capped about,
 When she goeth out
 Her selfe for to shew,
 She driueth downe the dew
 With a paire of heels,
 As broad as two wheeles ;
 She hobbles like a goose,
 With her blanked hose,
 Her shoone smeer'd with tallow
 * * *

Greased vpon dyrt,
 That baudeth her skirt.

Primus Passus

AND this comely dame,
 I understand her name
 Is Elynour Rummin,
 At home in her wonning,
 And as men say,
 She dwelt in Sothray,
 In a certain steed,
 By side Lederhede.
 Shee is a tonnish gib,
 The deuill and she be sib.
 But to make up my tale,
 Shee brueth nappy ale,
 And make thereof pot-sale.
 To traouellers and tinkers,
 To sweaters and swinkers,
 And all good ale drinkers,
 That will nothing spare,
 But drinke till they stare,
 And bring themselues bare,
 With now away the mare,
 And let vs sley care,
 As wise as an hare.
 Come who so will,
 To Elynour on the hill,
 With fill the cup, fill,
 And sit thereby still,
 Early and late ;
 Thither comes Kate,
 Cisly, and Sare,
 With their legs bare,
 And also their feete,
 Hardly unsweet ;
 With their heelse dagged,
 Their kirtles all to jagged,
 Their smockes all to ragged ;

With titters and tatters,
 Bring dishes and platters,
 With all their might running,
 To Elynour Rummin,
 To haue of her tunnning.
 Shee giues them of the same,
 And thus begins the game ;
 Some wenches unbraced,
 And some all unlaced,
 With their naked paps,
 Their flips and flaps,
 It wigs and it wags,
 Like tawny saffron bags ;
 A sort of foule drabs,
 All scuruie with scabs,
 Some be flye-bitten,
 Some skew'd like a kytten.
 Some, with a shoe-clout,
 Binde their heads about ;
 Some haue no haire-lace,
 Their lockes about their face,
 Their tresses untrust,
 All full of unlust ;
 Some looke strawry,
 Some cawry mawry ;
 Some vntydie tegges,
 Like rotten egges ;
 Such a lewd sort,
 To Elynour resort,
 From tide to tide,
 Abide, abide,
 And to you shall be told,
 How her ale is sold
 To mawte and to mold.

Secundus Passus

SOME haue no money,
That thither commy
For their ale to pay,
That is a shrewd aray :
Elynour swears nay,
Ye bear not away
My ale for nought,
By him that me bought ;
With hey dogge, hey,
Haue these dogges away ;
With get me a staffe,
The swine eat all my draffe,
Strike the hops with a club,
They haue drunke up my tub ;
For be there neuer so much prese,
The swine go the hy dese :
The sowe with her pigges,
The bore his taile wrigges,
Against the high bench,
With fough, here's a stench :
Gather up then, wench ;
Seest thou not what's fall,
Take up dirt and all,
And beare out of the hall ;
God give it ill preeuing,
Clenly as euill chieuing :
But let vs turn plaine,
Where we left againe,
For at ill a patch as that,
The hens run in the mash-fat ;
For they goe to roust,
Straight ouer the ale just,
And dong, when it comes,
In the ale-tunnes :
Then Elynour taketh
The mash-boule, and shaketh
The hens dong away,
And scomes it in a tray
Where the yeast is,
With her mangie fistis :
And sometimes she blens
The dong of her hens

And the ale together ;
And saies, gossip, come hither,
This ale shall be thicker,
And flower the quicker ;
For I may tell you,
I learn'd it of a Jew,
When I began to brew,
And I haue found it trew.
Drinke now, while it is new ;
And ye may it brooke,
It shall make you looke
Yonger than you be,
Yeares two or three,
For you may proue it by me ;
Behold, I say, and see
How bright I am of blee,
Ich am not cast away,
That can my husband say :
When we kisse and play,
In lust and liking,
He cals me his whitig,
His mulling and his mittine,
His nobes and his conny,
His sweeting and honny,
With basse, my pretty bonny,
Thou art worth good and mony ;
This make I my fayre Fanny,
Till he dreame and dronny :
For, after all our sport,
Then will he rout and snort ;
Then sweetly together we lye,
As two pigges in a sty :
To cease me, seemeth best,
Of this tale to rest,
And leaue this letter,
Because it is no better :
Because 'tis no sweeter,
We will no farther rime
Of it at this time ;
But we will turne plaine,
Where we left againe.

Tertius Passus

INSTEEDDE of quoine and mony,
Some bring her a conny,
And some a pot with honny ;
Some a salt, some a spone,
Some their hose, some their shoone ;

Some rvn a good trot,
With skillet or pot ;
Some fill a bagge full
Of good Lemster wooll
An huswife of trust,

When she is a-thirst ;
 Such a web can spin,
 Her thrift is full thin.
 Some go straight thither,
 Be it slaty or slidder,
 They hold the high-way,
 They care not what men say,
 Be they as be may.
 Some, loth to be espide,
 Start in at the backside,
 Ouer hedge and pale,
 And all for good ale.
 Some run till they sweat,
 And bring malt or wheat,
 And Elynour entreate,
 To byrle them of the best.
 Then comes another guest,
 She swear'd by the rood of rest,
 Her lips are so dry,
 Without drinke she must die,
 Therefore fill by-and-by,
 And haue her pecke of rye.
 Anon, comes another,
 As dry as the t'other,
 And with her doth bring,
 Meale, salt, or other thing,
 Girdle, or wedding-ring,
 To pay for her scot,

As comes to her lot.
 Some bring their husbands hood,
 Because the ale is good ;
 Another brought his cap
 To offer at the ale-tap,
 With flaxe and with towe,
 And some brought sower dowe,
 With hey and with hoe,
 Sit we down arow,
 And drink till we blow,
 And pipe tirlly, tirlly lowe.
 Some lai'd to pledge
 Their hatchet and their wedge,
 Their hickell and their reele,
 Their rocke and spinning-wheele ;
 And some went so narrow,
 They laid to pledge their wharrow,
 Their ribskin and their spindle,
 Their needle and thimble :
 Heere was scant thrift,
 When they made such shift :
 Their thirst was so great,
 They neuer asked for meat,
 But drinke, still drinke,
 And let the cat winke ;
 Let us wash our gummies,
 From the dry crummes.

Quartus Passus

SOME, for very need,
 Lay down a skaine of threed,
 Some beanes and pease,
 Some chaffer doth ease ;
 Sometime, now and than,
 Another there ran,
 With a good brasse pan,
 Her cullour full wan ;
 Shee ran in all haste,
 Unbrac'd and unlaste,
 Tawny, swart, and sallow,
 Like a cake of tallow,
 I swear by All-hallow,
 It was a stare to take
 The devill in a brake.
 Then came halting Jone,
 And brought a gambone
 Of bacon that was restie ;
 But Lord how testie,
 Angry and waspie,
 She began to yawne and gaspie,

And bad Elynour goe bet,
 And fill in good met,
 It was deere that was farre fet.
 Another brought a spicke,
 Of a bacon slicke,
 Her tongue was very quicke,
 But she spake somewhat thicke.
 Her fellow did stammer and stut,
 But she was a foule slut ;
 For her mouth foamed,
 And her belly groaned.
 Jone saine she had eaten a fyst ;
 'Queane (quoth she) thou lyst,
 I haue as sweet a breath,
 As thou, with shamefull death.'
 Then Elynovr said, 'Ye callets,
 I shall breake your pallets,
 Without you now cease,
 And so was made a drunken peace.
 Then came drunken Ales,
 And she was full of tales

Of tidings in Wales,
And St. James in Gales
And of the Portingales;
With loe gossip I wis,
Thus and thus it is;
There hath beene great warre
Between Temple-Barre,
And the Crosse in Cheape,
And there came a heape
Of mill-stones in a rout;
Shee speaketh thus in her snout,
Sniueling in her nose,
As though she had the pose,
Loe here is an old tippet,
You shall giue me a sippet,

Of your strong ale,
And God send good sale;
And as she was drinking,
Shee fell in a winking
With a barly-hood,
Shee pist where she stood;
Then began shee to weepe,
And forthwith fell a-sleepe:
Elynour took her up,
And blest her with a cup
Of new ale in cornes,
Ales found therein no thornes,
But supt it up at once,
Shee found therein no bones.

Quintus Passus

NOW in commeth another rable,
First one with a ladle,
Another with a cradle,
And with a side-sadle,
And there began a fable,
A clattering and a bable,
Of foles silly,
That had a fole with Willy,
With jast you and gup gilly,
She could not lie stilly.
Then came in a gennet,
And sware by Saint Ben .et,
I drank not, this sennet,
A draught to my pay;
Elynour, I thee pray,
Of thy ale let me assay,
And haue here a pelch of gray;
I wear skins of conny,
That causeth I looke so donny.
Another then did hitch-her,
And brought a pottell-picher,
A tonnell and a bottell,
But she had lost the stoppell;
She cut of her shooe-sole,
And stopt therewith the hole.
Among all the blommer,
Another brought a scommer,
A frying-pan and slice,
Elynour made the price
For good ale each whit.
Then start in mad Kit,
That had little wit,
Shee seemed some-deale seeke,
And brought a penny cheeke,

To dame Elynour,
For a draught of liquour.
Then Margery milke-ducke
Her kirtle did up tucke,
An ynch aboue her knee,
Her legges that ye might see;
But they were sturdy and stubled,
Mighty pestles and clubbed,
As faire and as white
As the foote of a kite;
She was some-what foule,
Crooked-neck'd like an owle,
And yet she brought her fees,
A cantle of Essex cheese,
Was well a foot thicke,
Full of magots quicke;
It was huge and great,
And mighty strong meat,
For the Deuill to eat,
It was tart and punicate.
Another sort of sluts;
Some brought walnuts,
Some apples, some peares,
And some their clipping-sheares;
Some brought this and that,
Some brought I wot nere what,
Some brought their husbands hat:
Some puddings and linkes,
Some tripe that stinkes.
But of all this throng,
One came them among;
Shee seem'd halfe a leach,
And began to preach
Of the Tuesday in the weeke,

When the mare doth kicke ;
 The vertue of an unset leeke,
 And her husbands breeke ;
 With the feathers of a quaille,
 She could to bord onsaile,
 And, with good ale-barme,
 She could make a charme,
 To helpe withall a stitch ;
 She seem'd to be a witch ;

Another brought two goslings,
 That were naughty froslings,
 Some brought them in a wallet,
 She was a comely callet ;
 The goslings were vntide,
 El'nour began to chide,
 They be wrethocke thou hast
 brought,
 And shire-shaking nought.

Sextus Passus

MAUD ruggie thither skipped,
 She was ugly hipped,
 And ugly thicke lipped,
 Like an onyon sided,
 Like tan'd-leather hided,
 She had her so guided,
 Betweene the cup and the wall,
 She was there-withall
 Into a palzie fall :
 With that her head shaken,
 And her hands quaked ;
 One's heart would have aked,
 To have seen her naked ;
 She dranke so of the dregs,
 The dropsie was in her legs ;
 Her face glistring like glasse,
 All foggie fat she was :
 She had also the gout
 In all her joints about,
 Her breath was sower and stale,
 And smelled all of ale,
 Such a bed-fellow
 Would make one cast his craw ;
 But yet, for all that,
 She dranke on the mash-fat :
 There came an old ribibe,
 She halted of a kibe,
 And had broken her shin,
 At the threshold coming in,
 And fell so wide open,
 One might see her token,
 The Devill thereon be wroken,
 What need all this be spoken ;
 She yelled like a calfe :
 ' Rise up on God's halfe ; '
 Said Elynour Rummin,
 ' I beshrew thee for comming ; '
 As she at her did plucke,
 ' Quacke, quacke,' said the ducke.

In that lampatram's lap,
 With fie, couer the shap,
 With some flip-flap ;
 God give it ill hap,
 Said Elynour for shame,
 Like an honest dame :
 Up she start halfe lame,
 And scantly could goe,
 For paine and woe.
 In came another dant,
 With a goose and a gant ;
 She had a wide wesant,
 She was nothing pleasant,
 Necked like an elephant,
 It was a bullifant,
 A greedy cormorant.
 Another brought garlike-heads,
 Another brought her beads,
 Of jet or of cole,
 To offer to the ale pole :
 Some brought a wimble,
 And some brought a thymble ;
 Some brought a silke lace.
 And some a pin-case ;
 Some her husband's gowne,
 Some a pillow of downe ;
 And all this shift they make
 For the good ale sake.
 Then start forth a phisigge,
 And she brought a bore-pigge,
 The flesh thereof was ranke,
 And her breath strongly stanke ;
 Yet ere she went she dranke,
 And gate her great thanke
 Of Elynour, for her ware,
 That she thither bare,
 To pay for her share.
 Now truly, to my thinking,
 This was a solemne drinking.

Septimus Passus

'SOFT,' quoth one hight Sibbill,
 'First let me with you bibbill ;'
 Shee sate down in the place,
 With a sorry face,
 Whey-wormed about,
 Garnished was her snout,
 With here and there a puscull,
 Like a scabbed muscull :
 'This ale,' said she, 'is nopy,'
 Let us sipp and soppo,
 And not spill a droppo,
 For so mote I hoppo,
 It cooleth well my coppy.'
 'Dame Elynour,' said she,
 'Haue, here is for me,
 A clout of London pins ;'
 And with that she begins
 The pot to her plucke,
 And dranke a good lucke,
 She swing'd up a quart
 At once for her part :
 Her paunch was so puffed,
 And so with ale stuffed,
 Had she not hyed a pace,
 She had defiled the place.
 Then began the sport
 Amongst the drunken sort,
 'Dame Elynour,' said they,
 'Lend here a locke of hay,
 To make all things cleane ;
 You wot well what I meane.'
 But, sir, among all
 That sate in that hall,
 There was a prick-me-dainty
 Sate like any sainty,
 And began to painty,
 As though she would fainty ;
 She made it as coy

As a lege de moy,
 She was not halfe so wise
 As she was peeuish nice ;
 She said neuer a word,
 But rose from the bord,
 And called for our dame,
 Elynour by name.
 We supposed, I wis,
 That she rose to pisse :
 But the very ground
 Was to compound
 With Elynour in the spence,
 To pay for her expence.
 'I haue no penny nor groat,
 To pay,' said she, 'God wot,
 For washing of my throat :
 But my beades of amber,
 Beare them to your chamber.'
 Then Elynour did them hide
 Within her bed-side ;
 But some sate right sad,
 That nothing had,
 There of their owne,
 Neither gelt nor pawne ;
 Such were there menny,
 That had not a penny :
 But, when they should walke,
 Were faine with a chalke,
 To score on the balke :
 Or score on the taile,
 God give it ill haile,
 For my fingers itch,
 I haue written to mych,
 Of this mad mumming
 Of Elynour Rummin.
 Thus endeth the gest
 Of this worthy feast.

Skelton's Ghost to the Reader

THUS, countrymen kinde,
 I pray let me finde,
 For this merry glee,
 No hard censure to be.
 King Henry the Eight
 Had a good conceit
 Of my merry vaine,
 Though duncicall plaine :
 It now nothing fits
 The time's nimble wits :

My lawrell and I
 Are both wither'd dry,
 And you flourish greene,
 In your workes daily seene,
 That come from the presse,
 Well writ I confesse ;
 But time will deuouer
 Your poets as our,
 And make them as dull
 As my empty scull.

VIII

THE QUAKERS

THE Quakers—so named at Derby in 1650 by Justice Gervase Bennett, who was admonished by George Fox, their founder, to tremble at the name of the Lord—were objected to not only by the Royalists but, more curiously, by the Cromwellian authorities, and were continually in and out of prison for blasphemy. Macaulay said somewhat unjustly of Fox that he was “too much disordered for liberty and not sufficiently disordered for Bedlam.” The epigram would have more nearly fitted his associate James Nayler, some account of whose entry into Bristol is here given. Nayler, from all accounts, must have been too dazzled by the divinity in him to see clearly that he was also human. He and Fox had their differences. “George Fox,” he declared at his examination, “is a liar and a firebrand of hell.” A quaint question put to him was : “Whence camest thou in such an unusual posture . . . and at such a time, that, it raining, thy companions received the rain at their necks, and vented it at their hose and breeches”? He was subsequently pilloried, branded and bored through the tongue.

Regarding Fox's will here also reprinted, two versions were “broad-sided” soon after his death, one giving the will with its original poor spelling, the other Englished to be made more intelligible and “to convince the world that he who made this Will and could not write one line of true English, is not the Author of any one Page in all those Books, which the Quakers have impudently published under his Name.” Without doubt they are the work of Fox ; his spelling having

probably been corrected by his friends. For the rest, some sympathy may be felt for that "honest careful young woman, Sarah Freckleton, who hath been serviceable to me," in being left only half a guinea.

Here also may be recorded the following letter from a country to a London Quaker, which runs : " Friend John, I desire thee to be so kind as to go to one of those sinful men in the flesh, called an attorney, and let him take out an instrument with a seal fixed thereunto, by means whereof we may seize the outward tabernacle of George Green, and bring him before the lamb-skin men at Westminster, and teach him to do, as he would be done by : and so I rest thy friend in the light, R.G."

NAYLER'S ENTRY INTO BRISTOL.

THINKING it a very good foundation to my building, to give you the manner of his progress, before you come to his confession, or before his blasphemy aspires to the stool of repentance, I shall thus begin. James Nayler of Wakefield, in the county of York, a deluded and deluding quaker and impostor, rode October last, through a village called Bedminster, about a mile from Bristol, accompanied with six more ; one whereof, a young man whose head was bare, leading his horse by the bridle, and another uncovered before him, through the dirty way, in which the carts and horses, and none else, usually go. And with them, two men on horseback, with each of them a woman behind him, and one woman walking on the better way or path. In this posture, did they march ; and in such a case, that one George Witherley, noting their condition, asked them to come in the better road, adding that God expected no such extremity. But they continued on their way, not answering in any other notes, but what were musical, singing, ' Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth,' &c. Thus continued they, till by their wandering, they came to the alms-house, within the suburbs of Bristol, where one of the women alighted, and she,

with the other of her own sex, lovingly marched on each side of Nayler's horse. This Witherley saith, he supposes, they could not be less deep in the muddy way, than to the knees ; and, he saith, they sang, but sometimes with such a buzzing melodious noise, that he could not understand what it was. This the said Witherley gave in, upon his oath. Thus did they reach Ratcliff-gate, with Timothy Wedlock of Devon bare-headed, and Martha Symonds with the bridle on one side, and Hannah Stranger, on the other side of the horse ; this Martha Symonds is the wife of Thomas Symonds, of London, book-binder ; and Hannah Stranger is the wife of John Stranger, of London, comb-maker, who sung ' Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Israel.' Thus did he ride to the high cross in Bristol, and after that, to the White Hart in Broad-street, where there lie two eminent quakers, by name Dennis Hollister and Henry Row ; of which the magistrates hearing, they were apprehended and committed to prison.

GEORGE FOX'S WILL.

I DO give to Thomas Lower my saddle and bridle, (they are at John Elson's,) and spurs and boots, inward-leathers, and the New-England Indian Bible, and my great book of the signifying of names, and my book of the New Testament of eight languages ; and all my physical things, that came from beyond the sea ; with the outlandish cup, and that thing that people do give clysters with, and my two dials ; the one is an equinoctial dial : and all my overplus books to be divided among my four sons-in-law : and also my other books, and my hammock, I do give to Thomas Lower, that is at Benjamin Antrobus's closet ; and Rachel may take that which is at Swarthmore : and Thomas may have my walnut-equinoctial dial, and (if he can) he may get one cut by it, which will be hard to do ; and he shall have one of my prospect-glasses, in my trunk at London, and a pair of my gloves, and my seal, G. F. And

the flaming sword to Nath. Mead, and my other two seals, J. Rouse, and the other, Daniel Abraham : and Thomas Lower shall have my Spanish leather hood, and S. Mead shall have my magnifying-glass, and the tortoise-shell comb and case, G. F.

And all that I have written concerning what I do give to my relations, either money, or otherways, John Loft may put it up in my trunk at John Elson's, and write all things down in a paper, and make a paper out of all my papers, how I have ordered things for them ; and John Loft may send all things down by Poulsworth carrier, in the trunk, to John Fox, at Poulsworth, in Warwickshire ; and let John Fox send John Loft a full receipt and a discharge, and in this matter none of you may be concerned, but John Loft only. And my other little trunk that standeth in Benjamin Antrobus's closet, with the outlandish things, Thomas Lower shall have ; and if it be ordered in any other papers to any other, that must not stand so, but as now ordered, G. F. And Sarah, thou may give Sarah Freckleton half a guinea ; for she hath been serviceable to me, an honest careful young woman, G. F. Make no noise of these things, but do them in the life, as I have ordered them : and when all is done and cleared, what remains to the printing of my books, Benjamin Antrobus and Mary hath one-hundred pounds of mine ; take no use of them for it, when you do receive it. And in my chest, in Benjamin Antrobus's chamber, there is a little gilt box, with some gold in it ; Sarah Mead to take it, and let it do service among the rest, so far as it will go : the box is sealed up, G. F. And let Thomas Dockra, that knoweth many of my epistles, and written books, (which he did write,) come up to London, to assist friends in sorting of my epistles, and other writings ; and give him a guinea, G. F.

I do order William and Sarah Mead, and Thomas Lower, to take care of all my books and epistles, and papers, that be at Benjamin Antrobus's and at R. R.

Chamber, and those that come from Swarthmore, and my journal of my life, and the passages and travels of friends, and to take them all into their hands ; and all the overplus of them they may have, and keep together as a library, when they have gathered them together, which are to be printed : and for them to take charge of all my money, and defray all, as I have ordered in my other papers : and any thing of mine they may take, and God will and shall be their reward.

The 8th month, 1688. G. F.

Thomas Lover, and John Rouse, may assist you : and all the passages, and travels, and sufferings of friends, in the beginning of the spreading of the truth, which I have kept together, will make a fine history, and they may be had at Swarthmore, with my other books ; and if they come to London with my papers, then they may be had either at W. M. or Benjamin Antrobus's closet ; for it is a fine thing to know the beginning of the spreading of the Gospel, after so long night of apostasy, since the apostles' days, that now Christ reigns, as he did in the hearts of his people. Glory to the Lord for ever, Amen.

G. F. The 8th month, 1688.

IX

THE END OF A REGICIDE

THE following account is from a 1610 quarto translated from the French and entitled, "The terrible and deserved Death of Francis Ravilliack, shewing the manner of his strange Torments at his Execution, upon Fryday the 25th of May last past, for the Murther of the late French King, Henry the Fourth." It is perhaps worthy of note that in 1660 one James Parry published a pamphlet called "Two horrid Murthers ; one committed upon the person of Henry the Fourth of France, the other upon his son-in-law Charles the First of England. Of the various and lasting tortures endured by the murtherers of the one, and of the easy short punishments undergone by the murtherers of the other : though for the atrocity of the fact, they were not inferior to the first, but considering all circumstances and complications of treason went beyond them."

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The most inhumaine murther, lately comitted upon the person of the late French King, Henry the Fourth of famous memory, hath much disquieted the state of Fraunce, and so busied other kingdoms in hunting after the true reports thereof, so farre forth, that we thinke it an interior love to our countri-men to have an abstract of the most occurrences that happned since that unnaturall accydent. And, first, to begin with the viperous homicyde, the bludie actor of this deede, who strove with the envy of his hart to draw in pieces the bowells that cherished his life (florishing Fraunce I

meane) that proves abortive in bringing forth such an unnaturall French-man.

This parricide, Francis Ravilliack, in time past of the order of the Felician fryers, but of late a practissioner in the lawe (by some named a pettyfogger) born in the towne of Angolesme, a place not farre distant from the citty of Paris; who, after he had unluckely accomplished this bloody stratagem, by taking away the preserver of so many lives, was, upon the 23 of May last, araingned, convicted, and condempned by due order of lawe, in the great court and chamber of Turnella in Paris, before all the assemblies, presidents, counsellors, and commissioners, at the request of Du Vicquet, attorney-generall to the king, whose place and authority was there then to inquire against this Francis Ravilliack, for the murther of his late soveraigne, Henry the Fourth, King of Fraunce and Navarre; whereupon, this Francis Ravilliack, with a sad and deathlike countenance, holding up his guilty hand before this great assembly, presently confessed 'guilty;' and that he became this his countries shame, onely by the instigation of the devill: and not any other accomplices and confederats would he reveale, but in a satanicall maner vowed himselfe to secrecie; whereupon the law proceeded, and a most terrible sentence of death was pronounced against him there, according to a generall decree of that great court of parliament: and so (being a condemned villaine) was, with a strong gard of armed men, convayd to prison; otherwise, by the violent rage of the common people, he had beene torne in peeces: such was the love they bore to their late king.

Upon the Fryday following, being the 25. of May (according to their computation) this Francis Ravilliack was in a most vile and bace manner caried to execution, as followeth:

First, Naked in his shirt, he was brought out of the consergery (being the prison for the palace) with a

lighted torch of two pownd waight in one hand, and the knife (wherewith he killed the king) chayned to the other hand, so openly to be seene, that the least childe there present might behold it. After this, he was placed standing upright in a tumbrell or dung-cart, and so from thence conducted with a gard of cittizens to the capitall church in Paris ; where, being adjudged to doe penance, he had beene made a sacrafize to the rage of the rude people, had not there bin apoynted officers to see his execution, who prevented it.

After this, being accompanied to the place of execution with two doctors of divinitie, all the way perswading him to save his soule from everlasting punishment, by revealing and laying oppen his assocyates therein ; which he would not, but stiffly (though ungraciously) tooke the bloody burthen upon his owne shoulders, withstanding, even to the death, all faire promises whatsoever. In this manner, as I sayd before, was he caried to the Greve, (being a spatious streete, and about the middle of Paris,) where was builded a very substantiall scaffould of strong timber, whereupon, according to his judgment, he was to be tormented to death. Du Vicquet, the king's attorney-generall, was apoynted principall to see the execution ; and there to gather, if he could, some further light of this unchristianlike conspiracie.

This here following was the manner of his death ; an example of terror, made knowne to the world to convert all bloody-minded traytors from the like enterprise. At his first comming upon the scaffold, he crossed himselfe directly over the breast ; a signe that he did live and dye an obstinate papist. Whereupon, by the executioners, he was bound to an engine of wood and iron, made like to a S. Andrew's crosse, according to the fashion of his body ; and then the hand, with the knife chayned to it (wherewith he slew the king) and halfe the arme was put into an artificiall furnace, then flaming with fire and brimstone, wherein the knife, his

right-hand, and halfe the arme adjoyning to it, was in most terrible manner consumed : yet nothing at all would he confesse, but yelled out with such horrible cryes, even as it had beene a divell, or some tormented soule in hell. And surely, if hell's tortures might be felt on earth, it was approved in this man's punishment : and, though he deserved ten times more, yet humane nature might inforce us to pittie his distresse. After this, with tonges and iron pincers, made extreame hott in the same fornace, the appointed executioners pinched and seared the dugges of his breastes, the brawnes of his armes and thighes, with the calves of his legges, and other fleshy partes of his body, cutting out colloppes of flesh, and burned them before his face ; afterward, into the same woundes thus made, they powred scalding oyle, rosen, pitch, and brimstone, melted together : yet would he reveal nothing, but that he did it of himselfe, by the instigation of the divell ; and the reason was, because the king tollerated two religions in his kingdome. Oh small occasion ! that, for this cause, one servile slave should thus quench the great light of France, whose brightnes glistred thorough Europe. But to passe furthur into this strange execution, according to the sentence pronounced against him ; they put upon his navell a rundle of clay, very hard, with a hole in the midst, and, into the same hole, powred they moulten lead, till it was filled : yet revealed he nothing, but cryed out with most horrible roares, even like the dying man tormented in the brazen bull of the tyrant Phalaris.

But now to come to the finishing up of his life ; and, that the last torture might, in severity, equall the first, they caused foure strong horses to be brought to teare his body in peeces, and to seperate his limbes into four quarters ; where, being ready to pay his last punishment, he was questioned againe to make knowne the truth, but he would not, and so died ; without speaking one word of God, or remembering the daunger of

his soule. But so strongly was his flesh and joynts knit together, that of long time these foure horses could not dismember him, nor any way teare one joynt from the other, so that one of the horses faynted ; the which a marchant of the citty of Paris perceiving, put to one of his owne, being an horse of an exceeding great strength ; yet, notwithstanding, for all this, they were constrained to cut the flesh, under his armes and thighes, with a sharp raysor, by which meanes his body was the easier torne in peeces : which being done, the rage of the people grew so violent, that they snatched the dismembered carcasse out of the executioner's hands ; some beate it in sunder against the ground, others cut it in peices with knives, so that there was nothing left but boanes, which were brought to the place of execution, and there burned to cinders ; the ashes whereof was scattered into the wind, as being thought to be unworthie of the earth's buriall. God in his justice will, I hope, in the like manner, reward all such as repine at their countries safety, and desperately attempt to lift their hands against God's anointed.

X

PURITANS IN THE PILLORY

EVERY schoolboy knows something of that very fanatical and courageous puritan, William Prynne, but a few details regarding him and his fellow-sufferers, Dr. Bastwick and Henry Burton, are not in the histories which have hitherto come under my notice. The three men were brought before the Star-Chamber on June 14, 1637 for libels against the prelates' usurpation of authority, Prynne having been previously tried some two years earlier and condemned to the pillory and the loss of his ears. That the latter part of the sentence was not for some reason then fully executed occasioned the ironical opening remark of Chief Justice Sir John Finch at his second trial. "I had thought Mr. Prynne had no ears," said he, "but methinks he hath ears." This, we are told, "caused many of the Lords to take the stricter view of him: and, for their better satisfaction, the usher of the court was commanded to turn up his hair and shew his ears; upon the sight whereof the Lords were displeased they had been formerly no more cut off, and cast out some disgraceful words of him.

"To which Mr. Prynne replied, 'My Lords there is never a one of your Honours, but would be sorry to have your ears as mine are.'

"The Lord-Keeper replied again, 'In good faith he is somewhat saucy.' " *

After a very unfair trial they were condemned "to

* In Lord Strafford's *Collection of Letters*, I., 266, is an improbable story to the effect that the first time Prynne's ears were cut off, he had them stitched on again and they grew.

lose their ears in the Palace-yard at Westminster ; to be fined five-thousand pounds a man to his Majesty ; and to perpetual imprisonment in three remote places of the kingdom, namely the castles of Caernarvon, Cornwall, and Lancaster", Prynne, in addition, " to be stigmatized in the cheeks with two letters (S and L) for a seditious libeller."

Execution followed a fortnight later amid a vast concourse of sympathetic spectators, on which occasion it was said of Burton that " after a while, he having a nosegay in his hand, a bee came and pitched on the nosegay, and began to suck the flowers very savourly ; which he beholding and well observing, said, ' Do ye not see this poor bee ? She hath found out this very place, to suck sweetness from these flowers : and cannot I suck sweetness in this very place from Christ ? ' The bee sucking all this while, and so took her flight." It is elsewhere recorded that Burton, while in prison at Lancaster, complained of the " hellish noise " made day and night by five witches immured in the dungeon beneath him.

They were released at the beginning of the Long Parliament in 1640, Prynne thenceforward being on as quarrelsome terms with his own party as he had been with the prelates when they were in power. Finally, he came to favour with Charles II., receiving a position under that monarch. Aubrey has a good picture of him : " He wore a long quilt cap which came two or three inches over his eyes, which served him as an umbrella to defend his eyes from the light. About every three hours his man was to bring him a roll and a pot of ale to refocillate his wasted spirits ; so he studied and drank and munched some bread ; and this maintained him till night and then he made a good supper."

XI

TOBACCO, MUM, AND JUNIPER BERRIES

THE following extracts are from a 1682 quarto entitled "The Natural History of Coffee, Thee, Chocolate, and Tobacco, in four several Sections; with a Tract of Elder and Juniper-Berries, shewing how useful they may be in our Coffee-Houses: And, also, the Way of making Mum, with some Remarks upon that Liquor. Collected from the Writings of the best Physicians, and modern Travellers." I have omitted the essays on Coffee, Tea and Chocolate as being too lengthy and of less interest than the others.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF TOBACCO.

TOBACCO is reckoned by the best herbalists to be a species or sort of henbane, proper to the American regions, as Dodonæus and Simon Pauli; yet some botanists will have it a native of Europe, and reduce it to several of our classes. But I will not trouble you with this controversy; only we may take notice, that Thevet did first bring the seed of tobacco into France, though Nicot the French ambassador in Portugal (from whom it is called *Nicotiana*) was the first that sent the plant itself into his own country. Hernandez de Toledo, who travelled America by the command of Philip the Second, having supplied Spain and Portugal with it before. Sir Francis Drake got the seed in Virginia, and was the first that brought it into England; yet some give Sir Walter Rawleigh the honour of it; since which time it has thriven very well in our English soil; a great quantity of it grows yearly in several gardens about Westminster, and in other parts of

Middlesex. It is planted in great plenty in Gloucester, Devonshire, and some other western countries ; his Majesty sending every year, a troop of horse to destroy it, lest the trade of our American plantations should be incommoded thereby. Yet many of the London apothecaries make use of English tobacco in their shops, notwithstanding the vulgar opinion that this herb is a native of America, and foreign to Europe : yet Libavius assures us, that it grows naturally in the famous Hercynian forest of Germany. If this was true, we would no longer call it Tobacco, from the island of Tobago. The names of it are so various, as they would glut the most hungry reader. The Americans style it *Picielt* ; in Nova Francia, *Petum* ; in Hispaniola, *Cozobba* ; in Virginia, *Uppuvoc* ; at Rome, *Herba Sancta Crucis* ; in some parts of Italy, *Herba Medicea* ; in France, *Herba Reginae*, as you may read in Magnenus and Neander. But, let it be of what name or kind it will, I am confident that it is of the poisonous sort ; for it intoxicates, inflames, vomits, and purges ; which operations are common to poisonous plants, as to poppies, nightshades, hemlocks, monks-hood, spurges, and hellebores, that will produce the like effects. Besides, every one knows that the oil of tobacco is one of the greatest poisons in nature ; a few drops of it, falling upon the tongue of a cat, will immediately throw her into convulsions, under which she will die. This, Dr. Willis assures us to be true ; the experiment succeeded, when it was tried before the Royal Society, as the learned Dr. Grew has affirmed : besides, I can speak it upon my own certain knowledge, having killed several animals with a few drops of this oil. Yet that most sagacious Italian, Francisco Redi, observes very well, that the oil of tobacco kills not all animals, neither does it dispatch those it kills, in the same space of time ; there is a great difference between the tobacco of Brasil, and that of St. Christopher's, as to this effect : Varino and Brasil tobacco being almost of the same quality

and operation ; whereas that of St. Christopher's, Terra Nova, Nieve, and St. Martin, has very different effects.

If we run over those countries where Tobacco is made use of, we may observe the various manners of using it ; some Americans will mix it with a powder of shells, to chew it, salivating all the time, which, they fancy, does refresh them in their journeys and labours : others in New Spain will daub the ends of reeds with the gum, or juice of tobacco ; and, setting them on fire, will suck the smoke to the other end. The Virginians were observed to have pipes of clay before ever the English came there ; and, from those Barbarians, we Europeans have borrowed our mode and fashion of smoaking. The Moors and Turks have no great kindness for tobacco ; yet, when they do smoak, their pipes are very long, made of reeds or wood, with an earthen head. The Irishmen do most commonly powder their tobacco, and snuff it up their nostrils, which some of our Englishmen do, who often chew and swallow it. I know some persons that do eat every day some ounces of tobacco, without any sensible alteration ; from whence we may learn, that use and custom will tame and naturalize the most fierce and rugged poison, so that it will become civil and friendly to the body. We read of a French ambassador, that, being in England, was so indisposed, that he could never sleep ; upon which he would often devour whole ounces of opium without being concerned : and the Turks are often observed to swallow great lumps of it, a tenth part of which would kill those that were not accustomed to opiates. I know a woman in this city, that, being used to take both the hellebores, will often swallow whole scruples of them without the least motion or operation ; so that custom and conversation will make the fiercest creature familiar.

As for the culture, harvest, preparation, and traffick of Tobacco, I will recommend you to Neander ; where,

if you are curious, you may meet with satisfaction. I cannot omit one story out of Monardus, who tells us, that the Indian priests, being always consulted about the events of war, do burn the leaves of tobacco, and, sucking into their mouths the smoke by a reed or pipe, do presently fall into a trance or ecstasy ; and, as soon as ever they come out of it, they discover to the Indians all the secret negotiation which they have had with the great dæmon, always delivering some ambiguous answer.

As for the qualities, nature, and uses of Tobacco, they may be very considerable in several cases and circumstances ; though King James himself has both writ, and disputed very smartly against it at Oxford, and Simon Pauli has published a very learned book against it. Some anatomists tell us most terrible stories of sooty brains and black lungs, which have been seen in the dissections of dead bodies, which, when living, had been accustomed to tobacco. We read that Amurath the Fourth did forbid the use of it, over all the Turkish dominions, under the most severe penalties ; the Turks having an opinion amongst them, that tobacco will make them effeminate and barren, unfit for war and procreation ; though some think there is a politick design in it, to obstruct the sale of it in the eastern countries, and to prevent the Christians from establishing any considerable traffick, from so mean a commodity ; which, perhaps, may be one reason, why the great Duke of Muscovy has threatened to punish those merchants, who offer to sell any tobacco in his countries. Scach Abas (the great Sophy of Persia) leading an army against the Cham of Tartary, made proclamation, that if any tobacco was found in the custody of any soldier, he should be burnt alive, together with his tobacco. Yet, for all this, it may be very beneficial to mankind, as you will conclude from what follows.

Dr. Willis recommends tobacco to soldiers, because it may supply the want of victuals, and make them in-

sensible of the dangers, fatigues, and hardships, which do usually attend wars and armies ; besides, it is found to cure mangy and ulcerous diseases, which are frequent in camps. I know a curious lady in the north, that does very great feats in sores and ulcers by a preparation of tobacco. Our learned and most experienced countryman, Mr. Boyle, does highly commend tobacco clysters in the most violent cholick pains, which are often epidemical in cities and camps. The renowned Hartman extols the water of tobacco, against agues : and the curious Dr. Grew found the success of the oil of it in the toothach, a lint being dipped in it and put into the tooth. The effects of tobacco have been very good, in some violent pains of the head ; as some thousands have experimented. As for the daily smoaking of it, the state and circumstances of your body must be the best guide and rule ; if your complexion be lean, hot, and dry, it is an argument against it ; but if cold, moist, and humoral, subject to catarrhs, rheums, and pains, then there may be a temptation to venture upon it ; so every man must consult his own temper, and the experience of others.

A modern French author has writ a peculiar tract of Tobacco, wherein he commends it in convulsions, in pains, and for bringing on sleep ; he extols the oil of it in curing deafness, being injected into the ear in a convenient vehicle ; also against gouty and scorbutical pains of the joints, being applied in a liniment. A lixivium of tobacco often prevents the falling off of the hair, and is famous for curing the farcy or leprosy of cattle.

THE USE OF JUNIPER AND ELDER-BERRIES IN OUR PUBLIC-HOUSES.

THESE two berries are so celebrated in many countries and so highly recommended to the world by several famous writers and practitioners, that they need not desire any varnish or argument from me. The simple

decoctions of them, sweetened with a little fine sugar-candy, will afford liquors so pleasant to the eye, so grateful to the palate, and so beneficial to the body, that I cannot but wonder, after all these charms, they have not as yet been courted, and ushered into our publick-houses ; if they should once appear on the stage, I am confident, that both the Whig and Tory would agree about them far better than they have done about the medal and mushroom ; nay, the very Cynick and Stoick himself would fall in love with the beauty and extraordinary virtues of these berries, which are so common and cheap, that they may be purchased for little or nothing ; one ounce of the berry, well cleansed, bruised, and mashed, will be enough for almost a pint of water ; when they are boiled together, the vessel must be carefully stopped ; after the boiling is over, one spoonful of sugar-candy may be put in.

The Juniper-tree grows wild upon many hills in Surry and Oxfordshire, and upon Juniper Hill, near Hildersham in Cambridgeshire ; besides, in several other parts of England : the berries are most commonly gathered about August. The astrological botanists advise us to pull them when the sun is in Virgo.

The Juniper-berry is of so great reputation in the Northern nations, that they use it, as we do coffee and tea ; especially the Laplanders, who do almost adore it. Simon Pauli, a learned Dane, assures us, that these berries have performed wonders in the stone, which he did not learn from books, or common fame, but from his own observation and experience ; for he produces two very notable examples, that, being tormented with the stone, did find incredible success in the use of these berries ; and (if my memory does not fail me) I have heard our most ingenious and famous Dr. Troutbeck commend a medicine prepared of them in this distemper. Besides, Schroder knew a nobleman of Germany, that freed himself from the intolerable symptoms of the stone by the constant use of these berries.—Ask

any physician about them, and he will bestow upon them a much finer character than my rude pencil can draw. The learned Mr. Evelyn will tell you what great kindnesses he has done to his poor sick neighbours, with a preparation of Juniper-berries, who is pleased to honour them with the title of Forester's panacea : he extols them in the wind cholick, and many other distempers. Do but consult Bauhinus and Schroder, the first being the most exact herbal, the other the most faithful and elaborate dispensatory, that ever has been published ; and you will find great commendation of these berries in dropsies, gravel, coughs, consumptions, gout, stoppage of the monthly courses, epilepsies, palsies, and lethargies, in which there are often an ill appetite, bad digestions, and obstructions.

Take one spoonful of the spirit of Juniper-berries, four grains of the salt of Juniper, and three drops of the oil of Juniper-berries well rectified ; mix them all together, drink them morning and night in a glass of white wine, and you will have no contemptible medicine in all the afore-mentioned diseases.

Now it is probable, that you have both the spirit, salt, and oil of this berry in a simple decoction of it, provided it be carefully and skilfully managed. If this will not satisfy, do but read Benjamin Scarffius, and John Michael, who have published in Germany two several books of the Juniper ; and you may meet with far more persuasive arguments, than I can pretend to offer you.

The Elder-tree grows almost every where, but it most delights in hedges, orchards, and other shady places, or on the moist banks of rivulets and ditches, into which it is thrust by the gardeners ; lest, by its luxury and importunate increase yearly, it should possess all their ground. We write here of the domestic, common Elder, not of the mountain, the water, or dwarf Elder ; ours in figure is like the ash ; the leaves resemble those of a walnut-tree, but less ; in the top of the branches,

and twigs, there spring sweet and crisped umbels, swelling with white odoriferous flowers (in June before St. John's eve) which by their fall give place to many-branched grapes, first green, then ruddy, last of a black, dark purple colour, succulent and tumid with its winish liquor; of all the wild plants it is first covered with leaves, and last unclothed of them. It flourishes in May, June, and July; but the berries are not ripe till August.

As for the qualities and virtues of Elder-berries, I need say no more, but that Mr. Ray has given a great encomium of them; our learned Dr. Needham commending them in dropsies, and some fevers; and I have been informed, that the ingenious Dr. Croon has extolled a spirit of Elder-berries in an epidemical intermitting fever. Schroder says, they do peculiarly respect some diseases, attributed to the womb. Mr. Evelyn is so bountiful to his poor Forester, as to assure him, that if he could but learn the medicinal properties of the Elder-tree, he might fetch a remedy from every hedge, either for sickness or wounds; the same curious gentleman takes notice, how prevalent these berries are in scorbutick distempers, and for the prolongation of life (so famous is the story of Neander). I have heard some praise them in bloody fluxes, and other diseases of the bowels; also in several distempers of the head, as the falling-sickness, megrims, palsies, lethargies; they are said likewise to promote the monthly inundations of women, and to destroy the heat of an erysipelas; for which the flowers themselves are highly celebrated by Simon Pauli, who experimented them upon himself with wonderful success. I could produce several cases out of the best physical writers, as Forestus, Riverius, Rulandus, &c. where these berries have acted their parts, even to admiration; but, if you are curious and inquisitive after the qualities and nature of them, I will recommend a learned German, Martyn Blochwitz, to your reading, where you may entertain yourself with great variety. Yet I have one thing still to take notice

of, that the same medicine may be prepared out of the spirit, oil, and salt of this berry, that you have been taught before to make out of the Juniper-berry ; but you may obtain them all in a simple decoction, if it be well managed.

You have read here the great use of these two berries, that are more universally agreeable to all tempers, palates and cases, than perhaps any other two simple medicines, which are commonly known amongst us ; so that several persons, being under ill habits of body, and upon the frontiers of some lingering diseases, cannot but desire to drink them, when they have occasion to resort to publick-houses ; yet, for all this, my poor advice will certainly meet with that fate, which does attend almost every thing in the world, that is, *Laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis* : but it dreads most of all the Turkey and East-India merchant, who will condemn it in defence of their coffee and tea, which have the honour of coming from the Levant and China. Besides, I am afraid of a lash, or a frown, from some young ladies, and little sparks, who scorn to eat, drink, or wear any thing, that comes not from France, or the Indies ; they fancy poor England is not capable of bringing forth any commodity, that can be agreeable to their grandeur and gallantry ; as though nature, and God Almighty, had cursed this Island with the production of such things, as are every way unsuitable to the complexions and necessities of the inhabitants ; so we cannot but repartee upon these à-la-mode persons, that while they worship so much only foreign creatures, they cannot but be wholly ignorant of those at home. His Excellency, the most acute and ingenious Ambassador from the Emperor of Fez and Morocco, (who now resides amongst us) is reported to have advised his attendants to see every thing, but admire nothing ; lest they should seem thereby to disparage their own country, and shew themselves ignorant of the great rarities and wonders of Barbary.

Poor contemptible berries ! fly hence to Smyrna, Bantam, or Mexico ; then the merchants would work through storms and tempests, through fire and water, to purchase you ; and, on your arrival here, would proclaim your virtues in all publick assemblies : so true is that common saying, ‘ A prophet is never valued in his own country.’ The English soil is certainly influenced by some pestilential star, that blasts the credit of its productions.

THE WAY OF MAKING MUM,* WITH SOME REMARKS
UPON THAT LIQUOR.

IN the first place, I will give some instructions how to make Mum, as it is recorded in the House of Brunswick ; and was sent, from thence, to General Monk.

To make a vessel of sixty-three gallons, the water must be first boiled to the consumption of a third part ; let it then be brewed, according to art, with seven bushels of wheat-malt, one bushel of oat-malt, and one bushel of ground beans ; and, when it is tunned, let not the hogshead be too much filled at first ; when it begins to work, put to it of the inner rind of the fir, three pounds, of the tops of fir and birch, of each one pound ; of *carduus benedictus* dried, three handfuls ; flowers of *rosa solis*, two handfuls ; of burnet, betony, marjoram, avens, penny-royal, flowers of elder, wild thyme, of each one handful and a half ; seeds of *cardamum* bruised, three ounces ; bay-berries bruised, one ounce : put the seeds into the vessel. When the liquor hath wrought a while with the herbs, and after they are added, let the liquor work over the vessel as little as may be ; fill it up at last, and when it is stopped, put into the hogshead ten new laid eggs, the shells not cracked or broken ; stop all close, and drink it at two

* *Mum*, from the German *mumme*, said to be so called after Christian Mumme, by whom it was first brewed at Brunswick, in 1492, was a kind of malt liquor much used in Germany, and brewed of the malt of wheat, with a little oat and bean meal added. Pope, in *The Dunciad*, has the line, “ The clamorous crowd is hushed with mugs of mum.”

years old ; if carried by water, it is better. Dr. Ægidius Hoffman added water-cresses, brook-lime, and wild parsley, of each six handfuls, with six handfuls of horse-radish rasped in every hogshead ; it was observed that the horse-radish made the Mum drink more quick than that which had none.

By the composition of Mum, we may guess at the qualities and properties of it ; you find great quantities of the rind and tops of fir in it ; therefore if the Mum-makers at London are so careful and honest as to prepare this liquor, after the Brunswick fashion, which is the genuine and original way ; it cannot but be very powerful against the breeding of stones, and against all scorbutick distempers. When the Swedes carried on a war against the Muscovites, the scurvy did so domineer among them, that their army did languish and moulder away to nothing, till, once encamping near a great number of fir-trees, they began to boil the tops of them in their drink, which recovered the army, even to a miracle ; from whence the Swedes call the fir, the scorbutick tree, to this very day. Our most renowned Dr. Walter Needham has observed the great success of these tops of fir in the scurvy, as Mr. Ray informs us ; which is no great wonder, if we consider the balsam or turpentine (with which this tree abounds) which proves so effectual in preserving even dead bodies from putrefaction and corruption. If my memory does not deceive me, I have heard Mr. Boyle (the ornament and glory of our English nation) affirm that the oil of turpentine preserves bodies from putrefaction much better than the spirit of wine. The fir being a principal ingredient of this liquor, is so celebrated by some modern writers, that it alone may be sufficient to advance the Mum-trade amongst us. Simon Pauli (a learned Dane) tells us the great exploits of the tops of this tree in freeing a great man of Germany from an inveterate scurvy ; every physician will inform you, how proper they are against the breeding of gravel and stones : but

then we must be so exact as to pull these tops in their proper season, when they abound most with turpentine, and balsamick parts, and then they may make the Mum a proper liquor in gonorrhæas : besides, the eggs may improve its faculty that way. Yet I will not conceal what, I think, the learned Dr. Merret affirms in his observations upon wines, that those liquors into which the shavings of fir are put, may be apt to create pains in the head ; but still it is to be confessed, that the fir cannot but contribute much to the vigour and preservation of the drink.

By the variety of its malt, and by the ground beans, we may conclude, that Mum is a very hearty and strengthening liquor : some drink it much, because it has no hops, which, they fancy do spoil our English ales and beers, ushering in infections ; nay, plagues amongst us. Thomas Bartholine exclaims so fiercely against hops, that he advises us to mix any thing with our drink rather than them ; he recommends sage, tamarisks, tops of pine, or fir, instead of hops, the daily use of which in our English liquors is said to have been one cause, why the stone is grown such a common disease amongst us Englishmen ; yet Captain Graunt, in his curious observations upon the bills of mortality, observes that fewer are afflicted with the stone in this present age, than there were in the age before, though far more hops have been used in this city of late than ever.

As for eggs in the composition of Mum, they may contribute much to prevent its growing sour ; their shells sweetening vinegar, and destroying acids ; for which reason they may be proper in restoring some decayed liquors, if put whole into the vessel. Dr. Stubbs, in some curious observations made in his voyage to Jamaica, assures us that eggs, put whole into the vessel, will preserve many drinks, even to admiration, in long voyages ; the shells and whites will be devoured and lost, but the yolks left untouched.

Dr. Willis prescribes Mum in several chronical distempers, as scurvies, dropsies, and some sort of consumptions. The Germans, especially the inhabitants of Saxony, have so great a veneration for this liquor, that they fancy their bodies can never decay, or pine away, as long as they are lined and embalmed with so powerful a preserver ; and, indeed, if we consider the frame and complexions of the Germans in general, they may appear to be living mummies. But to conclude all in a few words, if this drink, called Mum, be exactly made according to the foregoing instructions, it must needs be a most excellent alterative medicine ; the ingredients of it being very rare and choice simples, there being scarce any one disease in nature against which some of them are not prevalent, as betony, marjoram, thyme, in diseases of the head : birch, burnet, water-cresses, brook-lime, horse-radish, in the most inveterate scurvies, gravels, coughs, consumptions, and all obstructions : avens and cardamon-seeds for cold weak stomachs : carduus benedictus, and elder-flowers, in intermitting fevers : bay-berries and penny-royal, in distempers attributed to the womb. But it is to be feared that several of our Londoners are not so honest and curious, as to prepare their Mum faithfully and truly ; if they do, they are so happy as to furnish and stock their country with one of the most useful liquors under the sun, it being so proper and effectual in several lingering distempers, where there is a depravation and weakness of the blood and bowels.

There still remains behind a strong and general objection, that may, perhaps, fall upon this little puny pamphlet, and crush it all to pieces ; that is, the histories are too short and imperfect : to which I have only this to answer, *Ars longa, vita brevis*. A perfect natural history of the least thing in the world, cannot be the work of one man, or scarce of one age, for it requires the heads, hands, studies, and observations of many, well compared and digested together : therefore

this is rather an essay, or topick, for men to reason upon, when they meet together in publick-houses, and to encourage them to follow the example of Adam, who, in the state of innocence, did contemplate of all the creatures that were round about him in paradise ; but after the fall, and the building of a city, the philosopher turned politician.

XII

THE OLD DOCTOR COZENED

HERE is a good story from "The Levellers : a Dialogue between two young Ladies, concerning Matrimony ; proposing an Act for Enforcing Marriage, for the Equality of Matches, and Taxing Single Persons ; with the Danger of Celibacy to a Nation. Dedicated to a Member of Parliament. 1703." The young ladies, be it understood, are severely against all bachelors. "The fabulous punishment of leading apes in hell," * says one of them, "is not enough : I would have them punished even in this life. Nay, sometimes they are caught and pay dear enough for their trifling with the years of youth, and not entering into the bounds of matrimony till the time of their doatage." She then proceeds to the story.

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A certain doctor of divinity of the university, aged about sixty years, from the profits of a good benefice,

* To *lead apes in hell* is an expression often applied by old writers to a woman who dies unmarried. Katherine in *The Taming of the Shrew*, says :

I must dance barefoot on her wedding day
And, for your love to her, lead apes in hell.

A character in *The London Prodigal* also has it :

'Tis an old proverb, and you know it well,
That women dying maids lead apes in hell.

Campion's lines, too, may be recalled :

All you that love or loved before,
The fairy-queen Proserpina
Bids you increase that loving humour more :
They that have not fed
On delights amorous,
She vows that they shall lead
Apes in Avernus.

and other comfortable church-emoluments, together with a thrifty life, had acquired an estate of five-hundred pounds *per annum* ; but the pious churchman, being still desirous of a larger share of the good things of this life, thought of ways and means of aggrandizing his fortune. No better way could he think on than marriage : for he, having lived a bachelor, and by his industry procured such an estate, he thought his spiritual and temporal endowments deserved a considerable fortune. After he had made many enquiries among his friends and acquaintance for a suitable help-mate, called a wife, with a sufficient quantity of money ; he pitched upon a justice of the peace's daughter, about ten miles distant from his own habitation. The young gentlewoman was about sixteen years of age, and had ten-thousand pounds portion. Her money made an atonement for her want of years ; for the bags and the girl were just old enough for the doctor. As soon as the doctor had intelligence of this young lady, he pursues the notion with all the vehemence imaginable ; and hereupon one day at dinner he breaks bulk to his man John, and tells him of his design of wedding, and orders him to get his horse ready the next morning early, and likewise another for himself, to accompany him part of the way, which he accordingly did ; and, after John had travelled with him about half way, he was dismissed by the doctor, who travelled on by himself till within a mile of the justice's house, where seeing an old hedger in the way, he asked him, " If he knew esquire —— ? " He told him, " Yes ; he had reason so to do, for he had been his servant above thirty years ; and that he had married his wife out of the family, who was also an old servant of the 'squire's." " Well then, (says the doctor,) you must needs know his daughter, Mrs. Anne." " Yes, I think I do, (says the hedger,) she's a fine young gentlewoman, and my master can give her a power of money. I will tell you what, doctor, I understand trap ; I fancy you have a mind to

Mrs. Anne." "Why, (replies the doctor,) what if I have ; what then ?" "Why then, (says the hedger,) my master being a hugy rich man, and my mistress a young woman, he may think you both too old, and not rich enough : and therefore, doctor, if I might advise you, I would first have you see how you like the girl ; it is good to look before you leap." "Which way can I do that ?" (quoth the doctor.) "Oh, (quoth the old man,) let me alone, I can contrive that well enough." Hereupon, the doctor gives him a broad-piece ; telling him, he found he could do him a kindness ; and that, if he did it, he should never want, for he had five-hundred pounds a year, besides spiritual preferments. "Aye, (says the old man,) I have often heard of you. I do not question but we shall bring the matter about. My master has a great respect for the church. Pray, sir, go a little farther to my house, and I will give you a cup of the best, and some good bread and cheese, and there we will consider farther of the matter : I will warrant we will contrive the business well enough." "With all my heart ;" says the doctor. Away goes the doctor more freely than to church, and the hedger as if he were going to the wedding. When they were come to the house, and eating the best it afforded ; says the countryman, "Master doctor, if I could get mistress Anne to my house, would not that do well ?" "Rarely well, (quoth the doctor,) if you can but compass it. But does she ever come hither ?" "Very often, (says the old man,) to see her old servants." "But how will you contrive it ?" says the doctor. "Leave that to me ;" quoth the hedger. Away goes the old fellow, and enters into discourse with his wife : says he to her, "I am minded to put a trick upon the doctor." The good-wife in a passion replies, "You S——, you old fool, you put a trick on a great man of the church !" Hold your tongue, goody simpleton, (says the old man ;) I find the great doctors bred at the 'versity have no more wit than we country folk, Get you gone imme-

diately to the 'squire's, and take my daughter Joan along with you, and pray Mrs. Anne to dress her in her best clothes, for there is a gentleman at our house desires to see her in such a habit." Now you must understand their daughter Joan was about the same age and stature with Mrs. Anne, and had a great deal of beauty, obscured by homely country-weeds ; and she had by nature a pretty stock of the mother-wit of the knave her father : away trudges the old woman with Joan her daughter. Her request was no sooner asked but granted ; and Joan was presently turned into a little angel, by the help of Mrs. Anne's accoutrements. The doctor, you may be sure, waited with much impatience all this while ; sometimes in hopes, and other times in despair. But the hedger, standing with his face towards the way, at length espies his wife and Mrs. Anne (for that must be the name of Joan at present) coming towards the house : the old man begs leave of the doctor to go and meet Mrs. Anne, and conduct her to the house, which he did presently, by running across a field. He made abundance of scrapes and cringes to madam Anne, with his hat in his hand, and then, stepping behind her like a footman, he followed her home all the way ; instructing her how to manage herself in this weighty concern.

When they came to the house, the doctor receives her with abundance of ceremony ; the countryman also made some rustic bows and compliments, and tells her, it was a great favour in her ladyship to come in a visit to her poor old servants, and humbly entreats the favour of her to sit down ; " for, though the gentleman present was a stranger to her ladyship, he was a person of quality, a learned and rich doctor of the church, who, in humility, peculiar to the clergy, had vouchsafed to give so poor a man as he a visit." With much coyness madam Anne sits down, and having made a bow from her seat to the doctor, she asked her old servants, how they did. The doctor being smitten with the visible

part of Mrs. Anne's portion, and ruminating on the invisible ; the old man thought it was time to retire ; which he did, by leaving a scrape or two on the earthen floor with his foot. The doctor had now what he came for, and to work he goes ; he had forgot Thomas Aquinas, Dunce Scotus, and other unintelligible cramp authors. Philosophy signifies nothing in an amour, and logick of itself is enough to curdle a virgin's milk ; therefore the doctor accosted her with all the soft expressions he could remember in Ovid, *de Arte Amandi*, which, the learned say, is the only way to know how to resolve the difficult questions in Aristotle's problems ; and, the girl having heat of beauty enough at that age to warm a stoic, by the vehement attraction thereof the doctor joined countenances : but never did a poor young lady receive kisses after a more modest and coy manner ; and well might she blush at such an exercise ; for the poor creature never smelt man before, and it was the first time that ever she saw the doctor.

After the doctor and Mrs. Anne had been above an hour together, in steps the old man : the girl she modestly retires, as well for instruction as to give an account how things went. In the mean time, the old man asks the doctor how he liked the lady, and what encouragement she gave him ? The doctor, being ravished with the visible and invisible qualifications of Mrs. Anne, expressed abundance of satisfaction, and how happy a man he should be if he could obtain his prize. Says the old man, " At her again, Mr. doctor ; she is a brave good-humoured lady, and I told her sufficiently what you are." Says the doctor, " Prithee canst not thou get us something good to eat and drink ? here's money, if thou canst." Away goes the old man, but first got Mrs. Anne into the room with the doctor ; which was done with many entreaties, and performed with a wonderful modesty.

We will leave the doctor and Mrs. Anne hard at work

on the anvil of courtship, whilst the old woman and her husband are getting supper ready ; which they were so long about, that it grew late, and Mrs. Anne was just going. The doctor, you may be sure, entreated her to stay, and the old man and woman solicited very hard on the same account ; telling the lady, that they had nothing worthy of her acceptance ; but the honour she would do them, now they had a great doctor of the church at their house, would be very great. In short, they argued so much, that Mrs. Anne was at length prevailed upon to stay : the old man whispers the doctor, that he had kept supper back on purpose that he might have the more of the young lady's company, and therefore advised him to make the best use of his time. Certainly, never any young lady made her lover so happy at the first interview : to work goes the doctor, he courts like a dragon ; with an irresistible fury he lets fly whole volleys of bombast rhetoric at her head, enough to beat a poor country-girl's brains out : no stone did he leave unturned ; but persists in his courtship, till interrupted by the old man's bringing in the supper, which, we may imagine, could not be less than a couple of cocks with bacon, and it is well, if the fowls did not come out of the 'squire's coop, as well as the clothes out of his daughter's wardrobe.

Down sits the doctor, having first placed Mrs. Anne at the upper end of the table ; and, having said a short grace, he desired the old couple to sit down, as did also Mrs. Anne : but they refused it, saying, " They should not be so impudent as to sit at table, chick by chowle, with a great doctor of the church, and their Mrs. Anne ; " who agreed with the doctor to make them both sit down, which at last they did, in conformity to the church and their mistress : and so they all fell heartily to pecking till they had consumed the whole provision. Supper being over, the old man asks his wife in the next room, what time of night it was ? The old woman replied, it was past eight of the clock : at

which, the old man fell into a violent passion, and scolded horribly at his wife, for not taking notice how the time went away. The doctor, hearing this combustion, comes to know the meaning of it. The old man tells him, he is undone for ever ; he has kept Mrs. Anne here so late that she is locked out of doors, her family being always in bed by eight of the clock, and that, on this account, the 'squire will turn him out of his service, by which he got his livelihood. The doctor pacifies him, by telling him, that since this thing must happen on his account, he nor his wife should never want as long as he lived. " Well, (says the old man,) Mr. doctor, since you are such a charitable man, I will put you in a way to do your business at once : if you should apply yourself to the 'squire, he will hardly be brought to terms ; for, though you have a good estate, yet I know the 'squire will marry my mistress to a young man ; and seeing you have now a fair opportunity, having the night before you, try to get her consent, and take her away with you by three or four in the morning to some parson of your acquaintance, and marry her : my master will be soon reconciled, for he has no other child to inherit his estate." " A good thought, (says the doctor,) and I will try what can be done in the case."

You may be sure, madam, now the doctor attacks the lady with all the fury imaginable ; the silence of the night and want of sleep (as I have heard those skilled in love-affairs say) are great advantages to an invading lover : these are the best times in which to storm a lady's fortress. This, I suppose, the doctor well enough knew, and therefore carried on the siege with vigour, and before three in the morning, the young lady had capitulated, and surrendered upon articles ; which the doctor tells the old man of with abundance of pleasure ; who, you may be sure, bids the doctor joy. The doctor desires the old man to get him a pillion, which, indeed, the old man had before provided ; and away goes the doctor and his lady, and

were that day married. The doctor did not stay long at the place of marriage, but privately returns to his own house, where he acquainted some of his friends of his enterprise, who highly applauded his ingenuity : but he enjoined them all to secrecy for some time. The doctor daily expected a hue and cry after Mrs. Anne ; but hearing nothing of it, he concluded the servants had some how or other concealed the story from her father : but his friends advised him by all means to go to the justice, and acquaint him with what he had done with his daughter, and beg his pardon for so doing, as a means of reconciliation.

The doctor understanding the justices of the peace were to meet that day about some particular business in the town ; he went to enquire for the justice, whom he only knew by sight, and the justice had no other knowledge of the doctor. The doctor, in his best *pontificalibus's*, comes to the place of meeting, which was an inn ; and asks the drawer, " Whether esquire —— was there ? " Who answered, " He was." He bids him shew him a room, and go tell the esquire, that " Doctor —— desired to speak with him." The esquire desires the doctor to come to him, and the rest of the gentlemen ; they having at that juncture no business before them : but the doctor sends word again that his business was private, and he heartily entreated the esquire to come to him ; upon which the esquire comes. The doctor he falls on his knees, and begs his pardon : the esquire was surprized, as knowing nothing of the matter, and being unwilling to be homaged by the church, he desires the doctor to rise, or otherwise he would talk no farther with him : the doctor refused to do it till such time as he had his pardon. The esquire, knowing of no offence, freely gave him a pardon ; which done, the doctor arises, telling him, he was sorry that one in his coat should be guilty of such a crime. The esquire, being still in the dark, replied, " He knew no crime he was guilty of."

“ Sir, (says the doctor,) I have married your daughter.”
“ Married my daughter ? (says the esquire ;) you are certainly mistaken, doctor.” “ It is certainly true ;” says the doctor. Says the esquire in a great passion, “ How long have you been married to my daughter ? ”
“ I have lain with her these three nights ;” says the doctor. Says the esquire, “ You are strangely mistaken, doctor ; for I left my daughter at home this morning.” Says the doctor, “ You are strangely imposed upon by your servants ; therefore be so kind as to go to my house and see your daughter, who is there at this present.” The esquire, in an odd sort of confusion, goes along with him to the house, and being conducted into the parlour where madam sat in state on her couch, the esquire burst out into a fit of laughter ; and, going to the lady, salutes her, and wishes her much joy ; and then told the doctor the mistake ; “ For (says he) this lady is my servant — the hedger’s daughter Joan, dressed in my daughter’s clothes.” The doctor, being astonished for some time, recovers himself, comes up to her, takes her in his arms, and, kissing her, says, “ If thou art Joan, I will love thee as well as if thou hadst been Mrs. Anne.” And, for aught I know, she made him as good a wife : for though she perfectly kidnapped the old child, yet they lived very comfortably together.

XIII

NEW ENGLAND'S TROUBLES WITH THE INDIANS

A farther brief and true Narration of the late Wars risen in New-England; occasioned by the quarrelsome Disposition and perfidious Carriage of the barbarous and savage Indian Natives there: with an Account of the Fight, the 19th of December last, 1675. London, February 17th, 1675-6. Licensed, Henry Oldenburgh.*

SIR,

Boston, December 28th, 1675.

'Tis verily believed with us, that all generous minds in both Englands, which concern themselves to enquire after our affairs in these parts of the world, and wish us well, have a longing desire the Indian wars might be ended; and we presumed ere this, that the powers of persuasion or force would have made a happy change, by altering the minds, or restraining the malice of our heathen foes.

But so it is, the rod of God's anger is still upon us; for the Pocanaket Sachem Metacom, *aliàs* Philip, still lives! he lives to be vexation to us in all places where he comes. Yea, he lives, and by his subtlety proves a more forcible and perilous enemy to us than ever we could have imagined. He hath drawn into his confederacy all the Indians, from Cape Sables eastward to the Mohawks, which is about three-hundred miles, or upwards: and our fears are, (which would to God they

* A note by Thos. Park, the 1808-13 editor, states that "this was preceded by 'A brief and true Narrative of the late Wars risen in New-England; occasioned by the quarrelsome Disposition and perfidious Carriage of the barbarous, savage and heathenish Natives there'"; an earlier tract, dated 1675, consisting of only one sheet. It was promised for a supplemental volume, but is there, with others, omitted, the editor explaining in a further note that the design to publish yet another supplemental volume had had to be abandoned. Boston scholars, familiar with "King" Philip, may know of the missing tract.

were but fears !) that some traders of Europe, for love of gain, have from time to time supplied them with ammunition.

At the eastward, the Indians have ruined Falmouth Black Point, and Saco, and slain in those towns thirty persons. Some they took alive, and sat them upright in the ground, using this sarcasm : ‘ You English, since you came into this country, have grown exceedingly above ground ; let us now see how you will grow when planted into the ground.’ At Ketterey, they have slain fourteen persons, and burnt sundry houses : at Dover they also have killed some, and fired two or three houses. Our enemies proudly exult over us, and blaspheme the name of our Blessed God, saying, ‘ Where is your O God ? ’ taunting at the poor wretches, which, to make themselves sport with, they cruelly torture to death. But our affiance is in the God that made heaven and earth, who, when he arises, will scatter our enemies.

It hath been the great care of our council to distinguish between friends and enemies ; for most of our mischiefs have flowed from pretended friends, who have demeaned themselves exceeding fairly with us, till they have had the opportunity secretly and suddenly to endamage us, and then they fly to our avowed adversaries. Many of our commonalty would have all Indians (*quatenus* such) declared enemies : but our soberest sort justly fear to condemn the innocent with the guilty ; knowing that *justitia est firmitas regni* ; nor would they draw on themselves the guilt of blotting out the interest of the Gospel amongst the Indians, remembering New-England was originally a plantation more famous for religion than trade ; and to this day the Massachusetts, in the impress of their public seal, have an Indian engraven with these words, ‘ Come over and help us ; ’ alluding to Acts xvi. 9. Much intestine heart-burnings and complainings, not to say mutinies, have been about these matters ; to quiet which, eleven

of the most notorious (with whom some English plunder was found) were arraigned ; six whereof, being evidently found guilty, were soon after executed ; and, at the desire of the honestest of them, all the professing Indians are placed and provided for on certain islands, where they are out of harm's way ; and by an act of the general court, which is our parliament here, 'tis death for any of them to come off thence without licence from the magistrate. Our people, since the loss of captain Lathrop of Beverly, (with about sixty men, by surprise,) and the burning of Springfield, are grown not less valorous, but more cautious. Experience is the mother of prudence, and little good comes of despising an enemy. Yet let not the world censure too much captain Lathrop. He, in the Pequot wars, had done exploits ; nor in this would have been behind-hand, if the narrow passage or causey, where his unexpected enemies set on him, would have given him leave to have drawn up his men. But, however, this may be said, to use the words of a wise man ; ' There was never censor that judged, senator that ordered, general that commanded, council that executed, orator that persuaded, nor any other mortal man, but sometimes he committed errors.' Let such, as are too apt to censure the conduct of some affairs here, remember this.

On the 19th of October, Philip assaulted Hatsfield, a town on Connecticut-River, with about eight-hundred men. But there were two-hundred of ours then in the town, which in two hours space, with the loss of one man only, put the Indians to a total flight, and killed about an hundred of them ; sixty of whose dead bodies the Indians carried with them on horses, &c. (for they had several horses amongst them). After which, Philip and the Nipnet Indians fled to the Narragansits ; which caused the council of the Massachusets to publish in print this manifesto :

TO OUR BRETHREN AND FRIENDS THE INHABITANTS OF
THE COLONY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS

ALTHOUGH you cannot be ignorant how studious this government hath been to preserve peace in this colony, and have taken up and compromised divers quarrels that have risen between ourselves, our neighbours, and the Indians ; and thereby at several times prevented those calamities wherewith we are now pressed : yet, to satisfy you that the same mind and the same endeavours are continued in the present government, we have thought it necessary to let you understand the rise and progress of our present troubles, with our endeavours to have prevented the same.

In June last, we were certified by our friends and confederates of Plymouth, that Philip, the sachem of Mount-Hope, was in arms, and had solicited all the Indians to join with him against the English ; and, withal, they desired our assistance to suppress him : which we, by the articles of confederation, could not deny, and therefore applied ourselves to raise some force for their assistance, but were still desirous to prevent a war with the Indians ; and therefore, upon a former experience of a good effect wrought upon the said Philip, we resolved to use the same means, *viz.* sending messengers from hence to Philip to treat with him, hoping of the like issue, which, upon the like case about four years since, we, by God's good hand, obtained. But our messengers arriving at Swanzy, in their way towards Philip, found divers English murdered on the road ; and were informed by the English there, of divers hostilities of the Indians, which rendered our design and their negotiation hopeless ; upon which they returned, and informed us as abovesaid. Whereupon, our forces began their march, in aid of our friends at Plymouth ; and having driven Philip from his country, we being informed that the Narragansets harboured his women, and aided him with

men, we ordered our soldiers to march to Narraganset, in order to keep them quiet, and prevent their succouring or harbouring the enemy : where, after some delay, they were drawn to consent to our demands ; promising neither to entertain nor assist our enemies, which they since confirmed in a treaty with the commissioners of the colonies ; further engaging, that they would deliver all those of Philip's party, that upon his route near Scatoneck, or since, were fled to them ; but have failed in every particular.

You may also take notice, that, before any of our soldiers marched to Mount-Hope, we were very careful to understand the state of the Nipnet Indians, to prevent Philip's design, and secure those Indians ; and, therefore, dispatched two messengers well known to them, to certify them of Philip's motion, and of our desire to keep amity and friendship with them, according to the covenants made with them long since, no ways violated on our part. And, by the said messengers, received fair returns from the most of them, being in ten or twelve plantations. Some of them pretending fear of us ; for their further satisfaction, when our forces were sent out against Philip, we, to satisfy and secure them, sent them, by Ephraim Curtice, a declaration under the public seal, that we had no design, or intent, to disturb them, or any other Indians, that would remain in their plantations peaceably ; which message and messenger was evilly treated by many of them then assembled, and the messenger much endangered by the younger men, and not with any satisfaction by their sachems, as the event shewed ; though at that present more moderately received.

Soon after this dispatch, and before Philip's flying from Pocasset, and march up towards the Nipnet country, some of the said Nipnet Indians assaulted and slew divers of our people at Mendam ; whereupon, captain Hutchinson, with a small guard, was sent up to the said Nipnet Indians, if possible, to keep them quiet ;

who arriving at Quabaog, whereabouts was a rendezvous of the Indians ; and having sent to them, they promised to meet him in a certain place, whither he at the time repairing, found not the Indians ; and being encouraged by the English of Quabaog, that the Indians were peaceable, &c. he advanced forward towards the place of the Indians' rendezvous to treat them : but, in the way, was, by ambuscade, treacherously way-laid ; by which himself, with several others, were wounded and slain, the English of Quabaog immediately assaulted, and the town, except one house, totally destroyed ; at which time, as we understand, Philip also, with his broken party, came up to the said Indians, and upon the first, or immediately before the arrival of the forces, we sent up for the relief of those of Quabaog ; Philip and his whole crew retreated, as we then feared, and afterwards were informed, towards Connecticut river ; from whence, recruiting himself with ammunition from Albany, and with men, partly from the treacherous Indians about Hadly and Springfield, he hath prosecuted his first design to ruin and destroy the English. And, notwithstanding all the opposition of our forces, hath done much mischief and spoil ; and, since the repulse he received at Hatsfield, withdrew into the Nipnet country, and since that, as we understand, towards the Narragansets, who, we do conclude, have favoured, abetted, and assisted him therein ; and, by entertaining and harbouring our enemies, have dealt falsely and perfidiously with us : whereby, we find ourselves necessarily engaged, with the consent, advice, and assistance of the rest of the colonies, in a war with them, as well as with Philip ; unless they prevent the same by a timely compliance, and performance, and security for the future. For the managing and carrying on whereof, we hope for, and expect (as we have hitherto had) the assistance of all his Majesty's subjects of this colony, in their respective capacities, in the just defence of the glory of God, the

honour, defence, and safety of our king, country, and ourselves, from the subtlety, rage, and treacherous attempts of our barbarous enemies.

Dated at Boston, the 7th of December, *anno Christi* 1675 ; *annoque domini Caroli Secundi, regis Angl. Scot. Fr & Hibern. defensoris fidei, &c.* 27.

By the Council, Edward Rawson, Sec.

XIV

TRAVELLERS IN THE EAST

A True Relation, without all Exception, of strange and admirable Accidents, which lately happened in the Kingdom of the great Magor, or Mogul, who is the greatest Monarch of the East Indies. As also, with a true Report of the Manners of the Country; of the Commodities there found, with the like of sundry other Countries and Islands, in the East Indies. Written and certified by Persons of good Import, who were Eye-witnesses of what is here reported. London, printed by J. D. for Thomas Archer, and are to be sold at his shop, in Pope's-head Palace. MDCXXII.

IN the year of our Lord 1618, and in the month of June, we arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, where we found the people of the country, albeit heathens and idolaters, yet very kind and friendly unto us; for some small quantity of iron and old copper, we had of them, upon exchange, beeves and mutton. This Cape (otherwise called the Cape of Bona Speransa) is very temperate, and agreeth well with the constitution of our people. Four or five hundred persons, sick of the scurvy, and other diseases of the sea, they all recovered their health perfectly within a very few days.

They have a very pleasant drink, which they call toddy, like in taste to white wine, which distilleth from the pahneto trees. At our departure from this Cape, we sailed two or three days in a sea like in colour to whey, whose bottom we could not sound.

We came afterwards to the country of the great Magor, or as some call him Mogul; his Lascar, which is his train, that followeth and always goeth with him in his progresses, consisteth usually of two hundred thousand people of all sorts. These lodge all in fair tents, richly hanged, which being pitched according to

the order of that country, they make a very gorgeous and glorious shew, as of a most beautiful and large city.

This Magor hath a place called the Maoll, in which he keepeth a thousand women to serve his lustful desires.

When he maketh his progress, his concubines go with him in all sumptuous manner, carried upon elephants in castles, richly covered; or upon men's shoulders, in a frame made like the upper part of a coach, but not so close covered. He hath under him thirty-seven provinces, and very many goodly cities. The length of his country is two thousand eight hundred miles, the breadth nineteen hundred miles.

When he admitted to his presence the Persian ambassador, or the ambassador of any other mighty king; when he giveth them, either loving or kind speeches, or looks; then the ambassadors, in token of thankfulness, kiss the earth. But Sir Thomas Roe, the King of Great Britain's ambassador, would not so much derogate from his place, to abase himself so demissively: notwithstanding, he was always entertained with more, and greater respects, than any other ambassador.

This Magor doth every year weigh himself in a balance made for the purpose; first, he weigheth himself with weights of silver, next he weigheth himself with weights of gold, and lastly, with jewels, and precious stones: his weight of silver, and gold, he giveth away liberally at his pleasure. After he is weighed, he mounteth into his throne, and then he throweth, amongst the standers-by, a great quantity of silver and gold, made hollow, like to the form of nutmegs, and such other spices, which his country doth afford. These ceremonies being ended, then he beginneth to carouse and largely to drink with his nobles, till they be all drunk. The scales, with which he is weighed, are all of massy gold, richly beset with precious stones.

No man hath any land in this Magor's country, but himself; he giveth pensions, and taketh away pensions,

at his pleasure. No child inherits any thing which his father had in possession, but at the pleasure of Magor. All honour and gentility dieth with the person who had any, and returns back to the Magor.

He sheweth himself, in publick and open manner to the people, at the least, three times in a day. First, at the sun-rising, to which he maketh low reverence. Secondly, at noon, at which time he seeth elephants fight, or some other pastimes provided for him. Thirdly, before the sun set; but, when the sun is setting, he descendeth from his throne, and sheweth as low obeisance, as he did at the rising.

At all these times, whosoever cometh unto him as a suitor, useth no other means for his dispatch, but to hold up a paper in his hand, and he is heard immediately, and encountereth the best fortune which suitors can desire; for either he presently obtaineth his suit, or hath a present denial; there are no masters of requests, nor any dilatory references upon any petition.

Magor's people are governed by no other laws but what lie in his breast, and the breasts of his counsellors; yet there is no place where businesses are sooner dispatched, or where justice is more uprightly and impartially administered.

Cursero, the eldest son of Magor, being of an haughty and aspiring spirit, practised to take from his father both crown and kingdom; but Magor not only took his son prisoner, but, with him, some two thousand of his chiefeest followers. Having taken his son, he placed him to see the execution of those two thousand he had taken: the manner of the execution being terrible; for they were put into the ground upon sharp stakes, and so left to die. After this execution, Magor shut up and sealed his son's eyes; so that, for three years, he saw no light of sun or moon at all. Seven years he kept him in close prison, but, at this time, he hath a little more liberty. This Prince is of a different dis-

position from his father, for he keepeth but one wife, and is a great favourer and protector of Christians ; he is generally beloved of all men.

Magor will not undertake, nor do any business of import, but as he shall be directed and counselled by his astrologers and magicians ; when they tell him the day and hour are fortunate, then he adventureth upon any thing. He cannot endure to hear any talk or mention made of death ; which is the most desperate and greatest folly which our age can, or doth afford, nay what madness is it ? not to hear talk, nor make provision for that which cannot be avoided. God hath appointed nothing more certain than death, because we should ever consider of it ; and nothing more uncertain than the hour of death, because, every hour, we should be provided for it.

The great Magor, and generally all the Indians of his country, are given over to fleshly pleasures : they may, and do keep as many wives and concubines as they will, or are able to maintain. What misery do these Indians endure, to have so many women about them, when as there be many Englishmen are grievously vexed to have the company but of one. But, perhaps, the Indian women are of a far milder temper than the English, as hereafter shall be shewed. The Indians are more jealous of their women and wives, than either Spaniards, or Italians. The father will not trust his son, after he cometh to twelve years of age, except he be gelded. The Indian women in their houses are commonly covered, and, if any woman go abroad uncovered, she is reputed a whore.

Magor's subjects are tall, and of comely personage, though of a tawny colour, but they are faint-hearted. Magor will usually say, that one Portuguese will beat three of his subjects, and one Englishman will beat three Portuguese. In this country are many several sects ; some called Banians, who will kill nothing that hath life, no not so much as snakes. They have

hospitals to keep and cure lame horses, lame dogs, lame birds, or any lame creature ; and, when they be cured, they are set at liberty. The manner of that country is to burn the bodies of the dead, and the wives willingly burn with their husbands : but of late the women begin to break that custom.

The Indians, under Magor, worship evil-favoured ugly idols, which they call Pagods ; their priests are called Ioggis, or Bramines ; their church they call Muskitts ; they go on pilgrimage to several places ; some to Meccha in Arabia ; some to the head of the river Ganges, wherein they throw silver and gold, according to their abilities ; and after wash themselves in the river, and then they think they are pure and clean from all sin.

These people have many feasts and many fasts, which they keep with sundry idle ceremonies ; some of them mourn in blue, others, as Japanners, mourn in white. They are skilful in physick, especially in simples.

The learning which they have, which is but small, is in the mathematicks, and in natural philosophy ; they have small store of books, because there is no printing amongst them ; all their books are manuscripts.

Their vulgar speech is called Indoſtan. The speech at Magor's court is usually the Persian language : their learned tongue is the Arabian. The common people are very apt to imitate any thing which they see to be done by strangers.

I cannot let pass a strange and wonderful report, which fell out in Magor's court, and hath been, by Sir Thomas Roe, reported confidently for truth. There was a Rasa (so great princes are called) who was an absolute atheist, who would always scornfully and disdainfully speak and dispute against the Deity ; not enduring either himself, or any other, where he might oppose, to acknowledge any godhead. This great Prince, sporting himself among his concubines, one of them, who was most favoured of the Prince, and might

be most bold with him, when he was flouting and jesting against the Deity, plucked from his breast an hair, and withal a drop of blood followed, which was not regarded at the first. This very place, within very few days, began to fester, and by degrees grew to that extremity, that the pain was intolerable, and withal proving to be a gangrene : having used all the means, which physick, or surgery might afford him, it proved irrecoverable. This Rasa, seeing his estate, and that he had no hope of life, but a dreadful expectation of imminent death, sent to Magor to take his leave of him : Magor sent divers of his nobles unto him, to comfort him, with all the best offers and speeches which any subject might desire from so mighty a monarch. Which when the nobles had delivered unto him, he made answer in this manner : “ My Lord Magor is a great monarch to command upon earth, but there is a more omnipotent Monarch, which hath absolute command and power in heaven and earth. You all know, I was an opposer, an enemy, a contemner of all Deity, and against that omnipotent Majesty of Heaven. He hath now shewed and manifested his power and justice upon me, who now lie in torment, every minute of an hour expecting to die. What I would not acknowledge in my life, I am constrained to acknowledge and confess upon my death ; for we who live at random, and speak at large in our lives, when death worketh nature’s dissolution, we are then compelled to change our former opinions, and to acknowledge our former errors. I was an atheist : by my own experience I dare, and can assure you, what is one of the greatest causes of Atheism : wicked lives do wish there were no God to punish their offences after this life, and therefore do flatter themselves in their life ; they frame to themselves all the reasons they can devise, to persuade themselves there is no God. But, my Lords, there is no atheist, which dare, at the hour of his death, maintain and defend that doctrine of atheism, which he did in

life ; for nature itself doth constrain them to a terrible recantation at the hour of death, as you may now behold a grievous example in me. What would not I give ? what would not I do, my Lords, if I might have longer time of life to acknowledge and confess freely and plainly that Godhead, which formerly I have, with scorn and malice, so wickedly denied ? Who would have imagined that I, being a soldier, should not rather have died upon some honourable wound, given by sword or lance ; than so shamefully to die upon the plucking of one hair from my breast ? This kind of death, as it is most shameful to me, so it doth more manifest and illustrate the Divine Power to be most omnipotent and miraculous. My Lords, my vital powers do fail me, I can speak no more, only this for a farewell, which, I pray you, deliver also to my great Sovereign Magor, Do you all fly and take heed of atheism ; seek out, with all the care and diligence you can, the knowledge of the only true and omnipotent God ; dare not live those wicked lives, nor maintain those horrible opinions whilst you are in health, which, as you see most manifestly in me, are so terrible and horrible at this hour of my death." Having ended these words, this mighty Prince died.

From Magor's country, we sailed towards other islands, and arrived at an island called Zeloon, which island yieldeth cinnamon, and other spices, in great abundance. It yieldeth also pearls, rubies, sapphires, garnets, and sundry other precious stones.

From Zeloon, we arrived at an island called Sumatra, which yieldeth pepper, gold, benjamin, camphire, with sundry other rich commodities. Afterwards we sailed to Patanie, an island governed by a maiden queen.

From this we arrived at Japan, which is one of the greatest and goodliest islands in the world, having great store of gold mines, and of silver : they have silver of three sorts, all unstamped ; they have small plate, which goeth in the market for buying of victuals ;

they have other pieces of plate unstamped, of finer silver, and that goeth in the country to buy all other commodities ; they have a third sort of plate, finer silver than any Spanish money, and this is carried away by strangers.

This country is governed by an emperor, who hath under him sixty-two kings. The revenues of this emperor are infinite ; a great part raised by rice. The people of this country are proud and haughty, very warlike, yet exceeding obedient to their emperor, and the kings to whom they are subjects. They are very kind to strangers. Justice, in this country, is severe without partiality. Thieves are not imprisoned, but presently executed. If a murder be committed, and the murderer escape ; he, who apprehendeth him, hath three hundred pounds given him upon the delivery of the murderer ; so that few or none of the murderers escape present execution. In this country a man may walk without danger, all hours of the night, so he does not misbehave himself. If any controversy arise betwixt party and party, it is forthwith decided ; their laws are *leges talionis*, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, and life for life. They worship and pray all to a saint, called Ameda ; whom they esteem to be a mediator betwixt God and them. When a soldier dieth, they are persuaded he goeth presently to Ottango Fatechman, the God of War.

XV

THE EVILS OF CHESS !

*A Letter from a Minister to his Friend, concerning the Game of Chess.
From a Broad-Side, printed at London, in the Year 1680.*

SIR,

I HERE send you my reasons for my disusing and declining the Game of Chess. This I premise, that I think recreation to be in itself lawful ; yea, that like physick, it is to some persons, and in some cases, very needful. Also that this Game of Chess is not only lawful, but it may be the most ingenious and delightful that ever was invented. Others seem to be calculated for children, this for men ; in most others there is much of contingency, in this there is nothing but art. But though it be never so lawful and eligible in itself, yet to me it is inexpedient. And there are some particular reasons why I am fallen out with this exercise, and, I believe, shall never be reconciled to it again ; and they are such as follow :

I. It is a great time-waster. How many precious hours (which can never be recalled) have I profusely spent in this game ! O Chess, I will be avenged of thee for the loss of my time ! It is a true saying, ‘ that it is more necessary thriftiness to be sparing and saving of time than of money.’ One offered on his death-bed a world of wealth, for an inch of time ; and another, with great earnestness cried out, when she lay a-dying, ‘ Call time again ! Call time again !’ This I heard, says a worthy minister, and I think the sound of it will be in my ears so long as I live.

II. It hath had with me a fascinating property ; I

have been bewitched by it : when I have begun, I have not had the power to give over. Though a thing be never so lawful, yet I ought not to suffer myself to be brought under the power of it. I will not use it, till I find I can refuse it. Reason and religion shall order my recreation.

III. It hath not done with me, when I have done with it. It hath followed me into my study, into my pulpit ; when I have been praying or preaching, I have (in my thoughts) been playing at chess ; then I have had, as it were, a chess-board before my eyes ; then I have been thinking how I might have obtained the stratagems of my antagonist, or make such and such motions to his disadvantage ; nay, I have heard of one who was playing at chess in his thoughts (as appeared by his words) when he lay a-dying.

IV. It hath caused me to break many solemn resolutions ; nay, vows and promises. Sometimes I have obliged myself, in the most solemn manner, to play but so many mates at a time, or with any one person ; and anon I have broken these obligations and promises, and after vows of that kind, I have made enquiry how I might evade them ; and have sinfully prevaricated in that matter ; and that not once only, but often.

V. It hath wounded my conscience, and broken my peace. I have had sad reflections upon it, when I have been most serious. I find, if I were now to die, the remembrance of this game would greatly trouble me, and stare me in the face. I have read in the life of the famous John Huss, how he was greatly troubled, for his using of this game, a little before his death.

VI. My using of it hath been scandalous and offensive to others. Some godly friends (as I have understood) have been grieved by it ; and others (as I have reason to fear) have been hardened by it. Great inconveniencies have arisen from the places where, and the persons with whom, I have used this game.

VII. My using of it hath occasioned much sin, as

passion, strife, idle (if not lying) words, in myself and my antagonist, or both. It hath caused the neglect of many duties both to God and man.

VIII. My using of it doth evince, I have little self-denial in me. If I cannot deny myself in a foolish game, how can I think I either do or shall deny myself in greater matters? How shall I forsake all for Christ, when I cannot forsake a recreation for him?

IX. My using it is altogether needless and unnecessary to me. As it hinders my soul's health, so it doth not further my bodily health. Such is my constitution (being corpulent and phlegmatick), that, if I need any exercise, it is that which is stirring and labouring. I cannot propound any end to myself in the use of it, but the pleasing of my flesh.

X. My using of it hath occasioned (at times) some little expence of money. This is the least, and therefore I mention it last. I should think much to give that to relieve others' wants, that I have wasted this way at several times upon my own wantonness.

I conclude with the passage of Mr. Baxter, in his *Christian Direction*, p. 464. Thus he writes: "I know not one person of an hundred, or of many hundreds, that needeth any game at all, there are such variety of better exercises at hand to recreate them: and it is a sin to idle away any time, which we can better improve. I confess, my own nature was as much addicted to playfulness as most, and my judgment alloweth so much recreation as is needful to my health and labour, and no more; but for all that, I find no need of any game to recreate me. When my mind wants recreation, I have a variety of recreating books and friends, and business to do; that, when my body needeth not it, the hardest labour, that I can bear, is my best recreation: walking is, instead of games and sports, as profitable to my body, and more to my mind. If I am alone, I may improve that time in meditation; if with others, I may

improve it in profitable cheerful conference. I condemn not all sports and games in others, but I find none of them all to be best for myself. And when I observe how far the temper and life of Christ, and his best servants, was from such recreations, I avoid them with the more suspicion. And I see but few but distaste it in ministers, (even shooting, bowling, and such more healthful games, to say nothing of these and such others as fit not the end of recreation,) therefore, there is somewhat in it that nature itself hath some suspicion of. That student that needeth chess or cards to please his mind, I doubt hath a carnal empty mind ; if God, and all his books, and all his friends, &c. cannot suffice for this ; there is some disease in it that should rather be cured than pleased : and for the body, it is another kind of exercise that profits it."

XVI

ALEXANDER SELKIRK

THE Miscellany contains two accounts of life on desert islands ; one being concerned with the famous Alexander Selkirk, the other with a more unfortunate Dutch sailor who, in the early eighteenth century, was marooned on the then bare and uninhabited island of Ascension for an offence against morality. The Dutchman's story is told from his diary discovered after his death by a landing-party from the English ship *Compton*. It is a prosaic and plain narrative, but dreadfully clear in its progress from hope to despair and the inevitable end. The poor devil existed for a rainless five months on turtles and birds called boobies, seeing never a sail and with an ever-dwindling stock of fresh water. There were evidently times of delirium, for he records the presence of apparitions, one of whom "appeared to me in the similitude of a man whom I perfectly knew ; he conversed with me like a human creature and touched me so sensibly of the sins of my past life . . . that I wished it would kill me." Reduced to eating the raw flesh of turtles, drinking their blood and even his own urine, he must have finally perished in utter exhaustion and misery. His last entry reads : "I cannot live long and I hope the Lord will have mercy on my soul. . . . The 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th all as before."

The more romantic story of Selkirk may speak for itself and is given with the original notes.

Providence Displayed : or a very surprising Account of one Mr. Alexander Selkirk, Master of a Merchant-Man called 'The Cinque-*

* This tract is printed nearly *verbatim* from the narrative given by Captain Woodes Rogers, in his "Cruizing Voyage round the World," 1712.

Ports ;' who dreaming that the Ship would soon after be lost, he desired to be left on a desolate Island in the South-Seas, where he lived Four Years and Four Months without seeing the Face of Man ; the Ship being afterwards cast away as he dreamed : as also how he came afterwards to be miraculously preserved and redeemed from that fatal Place, by two Bristol Privateers, called ' The Duke and Dutchess ;' that took the rich Aquapulco Ship, worth one-hundred Ton of Gold, and brought it to England. To which is added, an Account of his Birth and Education ; his Description of the Island where he was cast ; how he subsisted ; the several strange Things he saw ; and how he used to spend his Time. With some pious Ejaculations that he used, composed during his melancholy Residence there. Written by his own Hand, and attested by most of the eminent Merchants upon the Royal-Exchange. Quarto ; containing twelve pages.

IN the Voyage of the Duke and Dutchess privateers, belonging to Bristol, that took the rich Aquapulco ship, they came to an island called Juan Fernandez ; where sending their pinnace on shore, she returned, after some time, bringing with her a man clothed in goat skins, who seemed as wild as the goats themselves.

Being brought on-board the Duke, he said, he had been on the island four years and four months, having been left there by captain Stradling, in a ship called the

Captain Edward Cooke, who went the same voyage, and published a journal of it, gives the following short account of Selkirk : " The Duke's boat went a-shore and found one Alexander Selkirk, who had been formerly master of the ' Cinque-Ports ' galley, an English privateer in those parts ; and having some difference with the captain of the said ship, and she being leaky, he left the said captain Stradling, going a-shore on this island, where he continued four years and four months, living on goats, and cabbages that grew on trees ; parsnips, &c. He told us, a Spanish ship or two, which touched there, had like to have taken him, and fired some shot at him. He was clothed in a goat's skin jacket, breeches, and cap, sewed together with thongs of the same. He tamed some wild goats and cats, whereof there are great numbers." Voyage, &c. p. 34. 1712.

Sir Richard Steele likewise gave some account of Selkirk, in the 26th number of the Englishman, published Dec. 3, 1713, from which Sir R. appears to have had frequent conversations with him. But that work being in so many hands, it is needless to transcribe from it here.

De Foe has been charged with surreptitiously appropriating the papers of Selkirk to the formation of his celebrated work, intitled ' The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe ;' but the charge, though repeatedly and confidently brought, appears to be destitute of foundation : De Foe may probably have taken some general hints from Selkirk's story, which he, or any other man, had a right to do. See Chalmers's Life of De Foe, and Biog. Brit.

Cinque-Ports, about the year 1705, of which ship he was master ; and captain Dampier, who was then with him, and now on-board the Duke, told captain Rogers, he was the best man then on-board the Cinque-Ports, who immediately agreed with him to be a mate on-board the Duke. His name was Alexander Selkirk, a Scotchman, and the manner of his being found there, was by his making a fire the night before, when he saw the two privateers aforesaid, judging them to be English, by which, judging it to be an habitable island, they had sent their boat to see ; and so he came miraculously to be redeemed from that solitary and tedious confinement, who otherwise, in all probability, must have miserably ended his life there.

He said, that during his stay there, he had seen several ships pass by, but only two of them came in to anchor, which he judged to be Spaniards, and retired from them, upon which they fired at him : had they been French, he said he would have submitted himself, but chose rather to hazard dying on the island, than to fall into the hands of the Spaniards in those parts ; because he believed they would either murder him or make him a slave in their mines. The Spaniards landed so near him, before he knew where they were, that he had much ado to escape ; for they not only shot at him, but pursued him into the woods, where he climbed up to the top of a tree, at the foot of which they made water, and killed several goats just by, but went off without discovering him.

He told them, that he was born at Largo, in the county of Fife, in Scotland, and was bred a sailor from his youth. The reason of his being left on this melancholy island, was a difference betwixt him and his captain ; which, together with the ship's being leaky, made him willing rather to stay there than go along with him at first ; and when he was at last willing to go, the captain would not receive him.

He had been, he said, on the island, to wood and

water, when two of the ship's company were left upon it for six months till the ship returned, being chased thence by two French South-Sea ships. He had with him his clothes and bedding, with a firelock, some powder, bullets, and tobacco ; a hatchet, a knife, a kettle, a bible, some practical pieces, and his mathematical instruments and books. He diverted and provided for himself as well as he could ; but, for the first eight months, he had much ado to bear up against melancholy, and the terror of being left alone in such a desolate place. He built two huts, with piemento trees, covered them with long grass, and lined them with the skins of goats, which he killed with his gun as he wanted, so long as his powder lasted, which was but a pound ; and that being near spent, he got fire by rubbing two sticks of piemento-wood together upon his knee. In the lesser hut, at some distance from the other, he dressed his victuals, and in the larger he slept, and employed himself in reading, singing psalms, and praying ; so that he said he was a better Christian while in this solitude, than ever he was before, or than, he was afraid, he should ever be again.

At first he never eat any thing till hunger constrained him, partly for grief, and partly for want of bread and salt ; nor did he go to bed till he could watch no longer ; the piemento-wood, which burnt very clear, served him both for firing and candle, and refreshed him with its fragrant smell. He might have had fish enough, but could not eat them for want of salt, because they occasioned a looseness ; except crawfish, which are there as large as our lobsters, and very good. These he sometimes boiled, and at other times broiled, as he did his goats-flesh, of which he made very good broth, for they are not so rank as ours : he kept an account of five-hundred that he killed, while there, and caught as many more, which he marked on the ear and let go. When his powder failed, he took them by speed of foot ; for his way of living, and con-

tinual exercise of walking and running, cleared him of all gross humours, so that he ran with wonderful swift-ness through the woods, and up the rocks and hills, as we perceived, when we employed him to catch goats for us. We had a bull-dog, which we sent with several of our nimblest runners, to help him in catching goats ; but he distanced and tired both the dog and the men, caught the goats, and brought them to us on his back.

He told us, that his agility in pursuing a goat had once like to have cost him his life : he pursued it with so much eagerness, that he caught hold of it on the brink of a precipice, of which he was not aware, the bushes having hid it from him ; so that he fell with the goat down the precipice a great height, and was so stunned and bruised with the fall, that he narrowly escaped with his life ; and when he came to his senses, found the goat dead under him. He lay there about twenty-four hours, and was scarce able to crawl to his hut, which was about a mile distant, or to stir abroad again in ten days. He came at last to relish his meat well enough without salt or bread ; and, in the season, had plenty of good turneps, which had been sowed there by captain Dampier's men, and have now overspread some acres of ground. He had enough of good cabbage from the cabbage-trees, and seasoned his meat with the fruit of the piemento-trees, which is the same as the Jamaica-pepper, and smells deliciously. He found there also a black-pepper, called Malagita, which was very good to expel wind, and against griping of the guts. He soon wore out all his shoes and clothes by running through the woods ; and, at last, being forced to shift without them, his feet became so hard, that he ran every where without annoyance ; and it was some time before he could wear shoes, after we found him ; for, not being used to any so long, his feet swelled, when he came first to wear them again.

After he had conquered his melancholy, he diverted himself sometimes by cutting his name on the trees,

and the time of his being left and continuance there. He was at first pestered with cats and rats, that had bred in great numbers from some of each species, which had got a-shore from the ships that put in there to wood and water. The rats gnawed his feet and clothes, while asleep ; which obliged him to cherish the cats with his goats-flesh ; by which many of them became so tame, that they would lie about him in hundreds, and soon delivered him from the rats. He likewise tamed some kids ; and, to divert himself, would now and then sing and dance with his cats ; so that by the care of Providence, and vigour of his youth, being now but about thirty years old, he came at last to conquer all the inconveniencies of his solitude, and to be very easy. When his clothes wore out, he made himself a coat and cap of goat-skins, which he stitched together with little thongs of the same, that he cut with his knife. He had no other needle but a nail ; and when his knife was wore to the back, he made others, as well as he could, of some iron hoops that were left a-shore, which he beat thin, and ground upon stones. Having some linen cloth by him, he sewed himself shirts with a nail, and stitched them with the worsted of his old stockings, which he pulled out on purpose. He had his last shirt on when we found him in the island. At his first coming on-board us, he had so much forgot his language for want of use, that we could scarce understand him ; for he seemed to speak his words by halves. We offered him a dram, but he would not touch it, having drank nothing but water since his being there ; and it was some time before he could relish our victuals.

He could give us an account of no other product of the island than what we have mentioned, except small black plums, which are very good, but hard to come at ; the trees which bear them growing on high mountains and rocks. Piemento-trees are plenty here, and we saw some sixty feet high, and about two yards thick ; and cotton-trees higher, and near four fathom

round in the stock. The climate is so good, that the trees and grass are verdant all the year. The winter lasts no longer than June or July, and is not then severe ; there being only a small frost and a little hail, but sometimes great rains. The heat of the summer is equally moderate, and there is not much thunder or tempestuous weather of any sort. He saw no venomous or savage creature on the island, nor any other sort of beast but goats, &c. as above-mentioned ; the first of which had been put a-shore here on purpose for a breed by Juan Fernando, a Spaniard, who settled there with some families for a time, till the continent of Chili began to submit to the Spaniards ; which being more profitable, tempted them to quit this island, which is capable of maintaining a good number of people, and of being made so strong that they could not be easily dislodged.

Ringrose, in his account of Capt. Sharp's voyage and other buccaneers, mentions one who had escaped a-shore here, out of a ship which was cast away with all the rest of his company, and says, he lived five years alone, before he had the opportunity of another ship to carry him off. Capt. Dampier talks of a Mosquito Indian, that belonged to Capt. Watling ; who, being hunting in the woods, when the captain left the island, lived there three years alone, and shifted much in the same manner as Mr. Selkirk did, till Capt. Dampier came hither, in 1684, and carried him off. The first that went a-shore was one of his country-men, and they saluted one another, first by prostrating themselves by turns on the ground, and then by embracing. But, whatever there is in these stories, this of Mr. Selkirk I know to be true : and his behaviour afterwards gives me reason to believe the account he gave me, how he spent his time, and bore up under such an affliction, in which nothing but the Divine Providence could have supported any man. By this one may see, that solitude, and retirement from the world, is not such an unsuf-

ferable state of life, as most men imagine, especially when people are fairly thrown into it unavoidably, as this man was ; who, in all probability, must otherwise have perished in the seas ; the ship, which left him, being cast away not long after, and few of the company escaped.

We may perceive, by this story, the truth of the maxim, that ‘Necessity is the mother of invention ;’ since he found means to supply his wants in a very natural manner, so as to maintain his life ; though not so conveniently, yet as effectually as we are able to do with the help of all our arts and society. It may likewise instruct us, how much a plain and temperate way of living conduces to the health of the body, and the vigour of the mind ; both which we are apt to destroy by excess and plenty, especially of strong liquor, and the variety, as well as the nature, of our meat and drink ; for this man, when he came to our ordinary method of diet and life, though he was sober enough, lost much of his strength and agility.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ISLAND OF JUAN FERNANDEZ.

THE Island of Juan Fernandez is nearest of a triangular form, about twelve leagues round, and has a small island, near a mile long, lying near it, with several rocks close under it ; near which there are very good fish of several sorts. It abounds with cabbage-trees, which grow for three miles together, and are extraordinary good ; also turnips, which grow wild here. The soil is a loose black earth, and there are often great drifts of snow and ice in July ; but, in the spring, which is in September, October, and November, it is very pleasant.

Mr. Selkirk says, that, in November, the seals come a-shore to whelp and ingender ; when the shore is so full of them, that it is impossible to pass through them ; and they are so surly, that they will not move out of the way, but like an angry dog, run at a man, though he have a good stick to beat them : so that at this, and

their whelping-seasons, it is dangerous to come near them, but at other times, they will make way for a man ; and if they did not, it would be impossible to get from the water-side : they lined the shore very thick, for above half a mile of ground, all round the bay. When we came in, they kept a continual noise day and night ; some bleating like lambs, some howling like dogs or wolves, others making hideous noises of various sorts ; so that we heard them a-board, though a mile from the shore. Their fur is the finest that ever I saw of the kind, and exceeds that of our otters.

Another strange creature here is the sea-lion : the governor tells me, he has seen of them above twenty feet long, and more in compass, which could not weigh less than two tons weight. I saw several of these vast creatures, but none of the above-mentioned size ; several of them were upwards of sixteen feet long, and more in bulk, so that they could not weigh less than a ton weight. The shape of their body differs little from the sea-dogs, or seals ; but they have another sort of skin, a head much bigger in proportion, and very large mouths, monstrous big eyes, and a face like that of a lion, with very large whiskers, the hair of which is stiff enough to make tooth-pickers. These creatures come a-shore to ingender, the latter end of June, and stay till the end of September ; during which time they lie on the land, and are never observed to go to the water, but lie in the same place above a musquet-shot from the water-side, and have no manner of sustenance all that time, that he could observe. I took notice of some, that lay a week without once offering to move out of the place, whilst I was there, till they were disturbed by us ; but we saw few, in comparison of what, he informed us, he did, and that the shore was all crowded full of them, a musquet-shot into the land. I admire how these monsters come to yield such a quantity of oil : their hair is short and coarse, and their skin thicker, than the thickest ox-hide I ever saw. We

found no land-bird on the island, but a sort of black-bird with a red breast, not unlike our English black-bird, and the humming-bird of various colours, and no bigger than a large humble-bee. Here is a small tide, which flows uncertain, and the spring-tide flows about seven feet.

This is the account given by himself to the captain of the ship, as will be attested by several merchants and captains upon the Exchange, who have conversed with him. In which relation, the Divine Providence of God may be visibly seen ; first, in throwing him upon the desolate island ; and next, in supporting him under such an affliction, whilst the ship, which he left, soon after perished in the sea, and few of the company escaped. All which singular acts of Providence, that conspired in his preservation, he wholly and piously ascribes to the infinite goodness and mercy of God ; to whom all honour and glory be given, now and evermore !

XVII

ROME IN TIME OF CARNIVAL *

DURING the time of Shrovetide, there is in Rome kepte a verie great coyle, which they use to call the *Carne-vale*, which endureth the space of three or fowre dayes ; all which time the pope keepeth him selfe out of Rome, so great is the noyse and hurlie burlie. The gentlemen will attyre them selves in diverse formes of apparell, some like women, other like Turkes, and everye one almoste in a contrarie order of disguising. And either they be on horsebacke, or in coaches, none of them on foote : for the people that stande on the ground to see this pastime are in very great daunger of their lives, by reason of the running of coaches and great horsse, as never in all my life did I see the like sturre.

And all this is done where the courtizanes be, to shew them delight and pastime : for they have coverlettes laid out at their windowes, whereon they stande leaning forth, to receive divers devises of rosewater, and sweet odours in their faces, which the gentlemen will throwe uppe to their windowes.

During this time everye one weareth a disguised visor on his face, so that no one knowes what or whence they be ; and if any one beare a secrete malice to an other, he may then kill him, and no body will lay hands on him ; for all this time they will obey no lawe. I sawe a brave Romaine, who roade there very pleasaunt in his coach, and suddenly came one who discharged a pistoll upon him ; yet no body made any accoumpt, either of the murtherer, or the slaine gentleman.

* From Anthony Munday's "The English Romaine Life," &c., 1590.

Beside, there were divers slaine, both by villany, and the horses or the coatches, yet they continued on their pastime, making no regard of them.

The first day of their Carne-vale, the Jewes in Rome cause an ensigne to be placed at the capitoll, where likewise they appoint certaine wagers at theyr owne costes ; and then they run starke naked from Porta Populo under the capitoll for them, the which I judge above a myle in length. And all the way, they gallop their great horsses after them, and carie goades with sharpe pointes of steele in them ; wherewith they will pricke the Jewes on the naked skin, if so be they doo not run faster then their horses gallop ; so that you shall see some of their backes all on gore blood. Then he that is foremost, and soonest commeth to the capitoll, he is set on a horse backe without any saddle, one going before him carrying the ensigne. But then you shall see a hundred boyes, whoe have provided a number of oranges ; they will so pelte the poore Jewe, that, before he can get uppe to the capitoll, he will be beaten beside his horse fowre or five times.

The next day there are certaine of the Christians that runne naked likewise ; but no body pursueth them, either with horse or coatch : and the wager, they runne for, the Jewes must pay likewise. Then the buffell and the asse runneth ; but it is impossible for me to tel all the knaverie used about this : and therefore thus much shall suffice of the Carne-vale ; letting you understand, that they whoe were most knavishly disposed in this sport, on Ashwednesday came to take ashes in such meeke order, as though it had never beene they.

On Maunde-Thursday, the pope commeth into his gallery over S. Peter's, sitting in his chayre wherewith he is caried on mens shoulders : and there he hath a great painted holie candle in his hand burning, when as a cardinall on ech side of him, the one in Latin, the other in Italian, singeth the pope's generall malediction.

There he curseth the Turke, and her majestie, our

most gracious princesse and governesse ; affirming her to be farre worse then the Turke, or the cruellest tirant that is. He curseth likewise all Calvenians, Lutherians, Zwinglians, and all that are not according to his disposition. When he hath cursed all that he can, saying ‘ Amen,’ he letteth the candle fall. When as the people will scramble for it, and every one catch a little peece if they can ; yea, our English men will be as busie as the best, and one of them chaunced to get a peece of the waxe of the candle, whereof he made such a bragging when he came to the colledge, as you will not thinke, that he had got a peece of the candle, wherewith the queene of Englande was cursed, and that he woulde keepe it so longe as he lived.

The same night a number of the basest people, and most wicked lyvers that be amongst the people, gather themselves together in companies : as the company of the Holie Ghost, the company of Charitie, the company of Death, and such like ; every company their crucifix before them, their singers following them, on either side a number of burning torches, and thus they goe all whipping themselves.

First, they goe by into the pope’s pallace, and then downe in S. Peter’s church, which is all adorned with a number of waxe lightes : and there on the toppe of an aultar standeth a couple of cardinals, whoe sheweth them the holie handkercher, or *Vultus sanctus* ; which indeede is nothing but a lively painted picture, overshadowed with a couple of fine lawnes, and no body must desire to see it uncovered, because, they say, no body is able to endure the brightnes of the face. A number have seen it, and have been the worse a great while after ; and, all the while that both this and the speare is shown, they will whip them selves before them very greivously, and give a generall clamor thorowe the church : *Misericordia, Misericordia, Tu autem Domine miserere nobis* : and this order they continue almost the whole night. This is the glorie of the

pope, the blindnesse of the people, and the great follie of our English men, to bring themselves within the compass of such wicked order of life.

God continue his loving and fatherlie countenance over Englande ; blesse and preserve her majestie, and her honourable counsell ; and exercise us all in fere to him, obedience to her, and faithfull continuall loove to our neighbours ! *Amen.*

XVIII

THE APOTHEOSIS OF MAECENAS

FLATTERY, as we know, is a characteristic of most dedications to books published before the patron of letters went out of fashion. The following bouquet from "A Philosophical Essay, treating of the most probable Cause of that grand Mystery of Nature, the Flux and Reflux, or Flowing and Ebbing of the Sea," a 1673 quarto, is reprinted as being a choice specimen of flowery fulsomeness and the worst excesses of euphuism.

To the learned and judicious Sir John Marsham, of Whoornes-Place in Kent, Knight and Baronet, one of the Six Clerks of his Majesty's High-Court of Chancery.

SIR,

WHEN the Sun opens the curtains of the East, and gilds and enamels the fringes of the firmament with his early beams, the lesser lights resign themselves up to his, and muffle themselves up in their own obscurity, as being vanquished with an excess of splendour : so the meaner and pettier censures shall look faint and dim, if you, that are the great luminary in the orb of Learning, shall shed a propitious beam and influence upon this crude essay ; which will not only rescue it from the virulency of detraction, but so foment and improve it, that it will bourge on and flourish under your protection. So that, though it owe its birth to my pen, it will intitle its verdure and perfection to your candid acceptance of it ; now it is offered up to yours, from the hands of him, who is,

SIR,

Your most affectionate Servant,

THOMAS PHILIPOT.

XIX

THE ART OF LIVING IN LONDON

*The Art of Living in London ; or a Caution how Gentlemen, Countrymen, and Strangers, drawn by occasion of Businesse, should dispose of Themselves in the thriftiest Way ; not onely in the Citie, but in all other populous Places. As also, a Direction to the poorer Sort, that come thither to seeke their Fortunes. By H. P[eacham].** Printed for John Gyles, and are to be sold by Samuel Rand, at his Shop at Barnard's Inne, in Holborne. 1642.

It is a greater piece of skill to live in a populous place, where multitudes of people reside, than in a solitary and private place among a few ; yet some natures are so carried and led away with variety of acquaintance and company, that it is a death unto them to live by and to themselves, which indeed is the happiest life of all, and hath ever been most contenting and pleasing to the best and wisest men.

Now our most populous places are cities, and among us London, or καθέξοχὸν. The city, whither all sorts reside, noble and simple, rich and poor, young and old, from all places and countries, either for pleasure (and let me add beside, to save the charge of house-keeping in the country) or for profit, as lawyers to the terms, country men and women to Smithfield and the markets ; or for necessity, as poor young men and maids, to seek services and places ; serving men, masters, and some others all manner of employment.

Now the city being like a vast sea, full of gusts, fearful dangerous shelves and rocks, ready at every storm to sink and cast away the weak and unexperienced bark, with her fresh-water soldiers, as wanting her compass

* Henry Peacham, poet and pamphleteer, 1576-1650. He lingers still in the dim shades between the immortals and the legions of oblivion.

and her skilful pilot ; myself, like another Columbus or Drake, acquainted with her rough entertainment and storms, have drawn you this chart or map for your guide, as well out of mine own as my many friends experience.

Who therefore soever shall have occasion to come to the city, for the occasions before mentioned ; the first thing he is to do, is to arm himself with patience, and to think that he is entered into a wood where there is as many briars as people, every one as ready to catch hold of your fleece as yourself ; for we see that sheep, when they pass through a thorny or bushy place, they leave locks or wool behind them ; so imagine a populous city could not live nor subsist (like the stomach) except it have help and nourishment, from the other parts and members. Therefore, the first rule I give you, next to the due observance of God and the sabbath, and at other times, is the choice of your company and acquaintance ; for according to that, every man finds his own valuation high or low ; that is, we are esteemed to be such as we keep company withal, as well in estate as condition. If you cannot find such fitting for you, apply yourself to your friends, if you have any ; or the friends of your friend ; if you have not them neither (I speak to the meaner and more inferior), be sure that you take your lodging at least in some honest house of credit, whether it be inn, alehouse, or other private house ; which [latter] I could rather wish, because in the other, the multiplicity of resort and company of all sorts will draw you to much needless and vain expence, as in pots of beer or ale, tobacco, perhaps cards, dice, the shovel-board-table,* &c

But first of all have an eye to, and a care of your main business, or the end of your coming to town, as it were at what mark you would shoot your arrow ; which, being thoroughly considered, for your purse sake,

* Shovel-board or shovel-groat, now known as shove-ha'penny, played on a slate, and still a popular game in many taverns.

pursue it with all expedition ; for the city is like a quick-sand, the longer you stand upon it the deeper you sink, if hermoney, or means to get it, be wanting.

But, imagine you have money of your own, and come hither only for your pleasure, as being tired and weary of your country, if you husband it not thriftily you may quickly take a nap upon penniless-bench ; so many are the occasions here offered, that are ready every hour to pick your purse : as, perpetual visits of vain and useless acquaintance ; necessitous persons ever upon borrowing hand with you ; clothes in the fashion ; this or that new play ; play at ordinaries, tavern feasts, and meetings ; horse and coach hire ; beside those brittle commodities they carry ; boat-hire to Kingston, Windsor, and other places ; with the like. For an antidote to these several poisons, let me prescribe to my city-country gentleman these receipts or remedies.

First, being come to the city, avoid idleness, which commonly draws after a train of many vices. I call idleness, keeping your chamber, consuming the day lying in bed, or, risen, in walking up and down from street to street, to this or that gentleman's chamber, having no business at all, and cannot meet with useful company ; let the bible, and other books of piety, such as treat of philosophy, natural or moral history, the mathematicks, as arithmetick, geometry, musick, sometimes heraldry, and the like, be your chief company ; for you shall find books no flatterers, nor expensive in your converse with them. Beside, you shall meet with those who can instruct you in all those arts which Tully calls *venales*, which are taught for money ; as the mathematicks themselves, dancing, fencing, riding, painting, and the like.

Next, have a care of saving and improving your money to the best ; as who would bespeak a supper or a dinner at all adventures at a tavern, and not know the price of every dish ; as the Italians and other nations do ; while they laugh at our English for their vain pro-

fuseness and simplicity, who when the dinner is ended must stand to the courtesy of a nimble-tongued drawer, or of a many-ringed whistling mistress, whether they or you should be masters of your money. Beside, one dish, well-dressed, gives a good stomach more and better content than a variety of twenty.

And above all things, beware of beastly drunkenness, which (as Horace truly saith) doth *affigere humo divinæ particulam auræ*. And well he may *affigere humo*, or ‘ nail to the ground ; ’ for some are found sometimes so drunk, who being fallen upon the ground, or (which is worse) in the kennel, are not able to stir or move again. Drinking begets challenges and quarrels, and occasioneth the death of many ; as is known by almost daily experience. Hence are Newgate, the Compters, and other prisons, filled with our young heirs and swaggering gallants ; to the sorrow of their friends, and the joy of their jailors. Again, men when they are in drink, are apt to say or do any thing ; as, become sureties for decayed companions, or lending them ready money out of their purses, which when they have slept upon it, they curse and are ready to hang themselves ; besides the terror of conscience and extreme melancholy which sticks by them a long time after. Drunken men again are apt to lose their hats, clokes, or rapiers ; not to know what they have spent, how much money they have ; and full oft have they their pockets picked by whores and knaves. There is less danger in out-door recreations then ; as shooting, bowls, riding, tennis, &c.

Next, let every man beware of play and gaming ; as cards, especially dice, at ordinaries and other places ; for in the city there are many, who when they live only by cheating, are so cunning, that they will so strip a young heir or novice, but lately come to town ; and, wood-cock like, so pull his wings, that he shall, in a short time, never be able to fly over ten acres of his own land.

These, and the like errors, are the cause why so many fair estates, being near, or not very far from the city, have been so often bought and sold; and the truth is, very few have held out in a name to the third generation.

Let a monied man or gentleman especially beware in the city, *ab istis calidis, et calidis solis filiabus*, as Lipsius: these over-hot and crafty daughters of the sun, your silken and gold-laced harlots every where, especially in the suburbs, to be found: these have been and are daily the ruin of thousands; and if they happen to allure and entice him, which is only to cheat him, and pick his pocket to boot, with the bargain she makes; but let him resolutely say, as Diogenes did to Lais of Corinth, *Non tanti emam pœnitentiam*, ‘I will not buy repentance at such a rate.’

Let him also in the city have a special care whom he entertains into his service; let him, or they, have friends of his acquaintance, who may undertake for them, but not at all adventure every straggler. What says old Tusser, in his book of good husbandry?—

Take runagate Robin, to pity his need,
And look to be filched, as sure as thy creed.

And if you bring one with you out of the country, except you have a great eye over him, he will quickly be corrupted in the city with much acquaintance: then shall you help yourself to bed, see your horse starved in the stable and never rubbed; your linnen lost at the landresses; in a word yourself every where neglected. Think it therefore no disgrace in a city-inn to see your horse every day yourself, and to see him well meated, rubbed, and watered; he shall make you amends in your journey; *Occhio di patrono ingrassa la Cavallo*, ‘the master’s eye makes the horse fat.’ Besides, remember what Solomon saith—‘The righteous man regardeth the life of his beast, but the ungodly have cruel hearts.’ I saw, I remember, a carrier flay his horse alive, being

able to go on the way no farther ; his too heavy burthen having broken his back, insomuch that he tumbled raw in his own skin.

Next, let a gentleman living in the city have a care to keep himself out of debt ; let him owe as little as he can to his tailor for following the fashion, than which there can be no greater misery ; for then, if he walks abroad he is ready to be snapt up at every lane's end, by serjeants, marshal's men, or bailiffs ; or keeping his chamber, let him stir never so little, be betrayed by some false knave, or other ; in the mean time his creditors, if they be of the inferior sort, (nay their scolding and clamorous wives, and every saucy apprentice) will be ready to disgrace him ; and if arrested, he shall be hauled to prison many times like a dog, if he returns but the least ill word ; if he be a landed man, let him take heed of usurers and their factors, of whom he shall find as much mercy in cities as an ox-cheek from a butcher's cur. But I will turn my discourse now to such as accidentally make their abode here, either through business, to see friends, or sent for by authority.

Next after the setting up of their horses, and seeing them well used, which should be your chiefeſt care at your firſt alighting in the city, with all diligence follow your buſineſſ ; let not vain and bye occasions take you off from it ; as going to taverns, ſeeing plays, and now and then to worſe places ; ſo loſe your time, ſpend your money and ſometimes leave your buſineſſ un-effected. To avoid theſe, take a private chamber, wherein you may paſſ your ſpare time in doing ſomething or other ; and what you call for, pay for, without going upon the ſcore ; eſpecially in city ale-houſes, where in many places you ſhall be torn out of your ſkin, if it were poſſible, even for a debt of two-pence, and though you have ſpent twenty or forty pounds in one of their houſes, your hoſt, eſpecially your hoſteſſ, will hardly bid you drink in a twelve-month ; but if they

be at dinner or supper, never to eat a bit with them : for that were an undoing to them in their opinion.

Again, walking abroad, take heed with what company you sort yourself withal ; if you are a countryman and but newly come to town, you will be smelt out by some cheaters or other, who will salute, call you by your name (which perhaps one of their company meeting you in another street, hath learned by way of mistaking you for another man, which is an old trick,) carry you to the tavern, saying, ‘ they are a kin to some one dwelling near you,’ &c. But all tricks of late years have been so plainly discovered, and are so generally known almost to every child, that their practice is out of date, and now no great fear of them ; yet an *item* can do you no hurt.

You shall not do amiss if you send for your diet to your own chamber, a hot joint of meat, of mutton, veal, or the like ; what you leave, covered with a fair napkin, will serve you to breakfast the next morning, or when you please. Keep out of throngs and publick places, where multitudes of people are, for saving your purse : the fingers of a number go beyond your sense of feeling. A tradesman’s wife of the Exchange, one day when her husband was following some business in the city, desired him he would give her leave to go see a play ; which she had not done in seven years. He bade her take his apprentice along with her, and go ; but especially to have a care of her purse ; which she warranted him she would. Sitting in a box, among some gallants and gallant wenches, and returning when the play was done, returned to her husband and told him she had lost her purse. “ Wife, (quoth he,) did I not give you warning of it ? How much money was there in it ? ” Quoth she, “ Truly, four pieces, six shillings and a silver tooth-picker.” Quoth her husband, “ Where did you put it ? ” “ Under my petticoat, between that and my smock.” “ What, (quoth he,) did you feel no body’s hand there ? ” “ Yes, (quoth

she,) I felt one's hand there, but I did not think he had come for that." So much for the guard of the purse.

Now for such as are of the poorest condition, and come to the city, compelled by necessity to try their fortunes ; to seek services or other means to live, let them presently provide themselves if they can (for here is employment for all hands that will work), or return home again before they find or feel the extremity of want ; here are more occasions to draw them into ill courses than there, as being constrained to steal, and to shorten their days ; to seek death in the error of their lives, as Solomon saith ; young maids, who never knew ill in their lives, to be enticed by bards, to turn common whores, and the like. But if they can provide themselves, and take honest courses, by the blessing of God, they may come to as great preferment as aldermen and aldermen's wives. For poverty of itself is no vice, but by accident. Whom hath the city more advanced than poor men's children ? The city itself being the most charitable place of the whole ; and having done more good deeds than half the land beside. In a word, for a conclusion ; let me give all comers, not only to London, but all other like populous places, this one and only rule never to be forgotten, which is,—To serve God, avoid idleness, to keep your money, and to beware of ill company.

XX

A CHARLES FOR AN OLIVER ?

So far as can be judged by the Harleian pamphlets on the subject, and not only by these,* what really happened to the bodies of Charles I. and Oliver Cromwell after their deaths is still a matter of mystery. *Nuntius a mortuis, &c.*, a 1657 Paris quarto by an anonymous author whom Oldys pleasantly describes as a "shameless papistical bigot," takes for granted that Charles was buried at Windsor in the tomb of Henry VIII.† The anonymous one, however, writing as he does before the 1661 Restoration when Oliver's presumed body was hanged, was not to know that that of Charles might have been abstracted afterwards ; and, for that matter, his concern is not with mysteries of any kind, but with propaganda in the form of a colloquy between the ghosts of the two monarchs. Mystery appears with the 1703 *History of the Calves Head Club* and the extract as follows :—

"The barbarity of his enemies stopped not here : for, not content to have assassinated his person and reputation, they even dispossessed him of his sepulchre ; a piece of cruelty, which none but thorough-paced villains ever executed ; for, when the long parliament had voted an honourable interment for their late prince, who had suffered so unjustly, all was stopped ; by reason that the persons, ordered to regulate the ceremony, when they came to examine the royal coffin, found the body missing.

* Clarendon doubts if the body of Charles was certainly and truly interred.

† The "Encyclopædia Britannica" states that it was embalmed and buried at Windsor, and the coffin identified and opened in 1813. But was the *body* identified ?

“ This puts me in mind of what a worthy gentleman, who travelled with my Lord A—— into Italy, told me some years ago, *viz.* That, during his short stay at Bern in Switzerland, a syndic of the town, who used frequently to visit major-general Ludlow, when he lived in those parts, assured him, that he had often heard Ludlow, in a vaunting manner, affirm, that, though Ireton and Cromwell were buried under Tyburn, yet, it was a comfort to him, that the royal martyr kept them company : for, says he, foreseeing that his son would undoubtedly come in, we took care that his father’s body should not be idolatrously worshipped by the cavaliers ; and therefore privately removed it to the place of common execution.”*

Another author goes farther. But as regards his version let us first follow Oldys. “ The MS.,” he says, “ was carefully preserved by my Lord Oxford. It contains an extract from the Journal of the House of Commons ; which honourable House, resolving to disgrace the name of the late Usurper Oliver Cromwell as far as lay in their power, ordered his body to be taken up, and to be first hanged on the gallows at Tyburn, and then to be burnt. This order was pursued by the sergeant of the Honourable House so far, as to find a coffin with Oliver’s name, and usurped titles, at the east-end of the middle isle of Henry the Seventh’s Chapel, in Westminster Abbey. This, with an account where the said inscription is, or was, within a few years ago to be seen, is written in a very fair hand. Then, in two different hands, there follows the most remarkable account of a counter-interment of the arch-traitor, as well as the reason and contrivance to secure his body from that expected ignominy, and to continue the revenge of King Charles’s enemies, even to the disgrace of substituting the body of the beheaded King,

* “ An account in all probability fictitious,” says Oldys ; and of the substitution account that it is “ equally unauthenticated and improbable,”

in the punishment intended by a justly enraged people, upon the dead body of the Usurper."

And now to the MS. referred to and so "carefully preserved by my Lord Oxford."

SOON after the Restoration, the then serjeant of the House of Commons was ordered, by the House, to go with his officers to St. Peter's, Westminster, and demand the body of Oliver Cromwell, buried there, to be taken up, in order to be disposed in the manner the House should adjudge fitting.

Whereupon the said serjeant went, and in the middle isle of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, at the east-end, upon taking up the pavement, in a vault, was found his corpse; in the inside of whose coffin, and upon the breast of the corpse, was laid a copper-plate, finely gilt, inclosed in a thin case of lead, on the one side whereof, were engraved the arms of England, impaled with the arms of Oliver; and, on the reverse, the following *Legenda, viz.*

*Oliverius Protector Reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ
Natus 25.º April. 1599, Inauguratus 16.º Dec.^{ris} 1653,
Mortuus 3.^{tio} Sept.^{ris}, Anno 1658, Hic Situs est.*

The said serjeant, believing the plate to be gold, took it pretendedly, as his fee; and Mr. Gifford, of Colchester, who married the serjeant's daughter, has now the plate, which his father-in-law told him he came by, in the manner above related.

A Counter-Interment of the aforesaid Arch-Traitor, as averred, and ready to be deposed (if Occasion required) by Mr. — Barksstead, who daily frequents Richard's Coffee-House, within Temple-Bar; being Son to Barksstead, the Regicide, that was executed as such, soon after the Restoration; the Son being, at the Time of the said Arch-Traitor's Death, about the Age of fifteen Years.

THAT the said regicide Barksstead, being lieutenant of the Tower of London, and a great confident of the Usurper, did, among other such confidents, in the time

of the Usurper's sickness, desire to know where he would be buried? To which, he answered, "Where he had obtained the greatest victory and glory, and as nigh the spot as could be guessed, where the heat of the action was, viz. in the field at Naseby, co. Northampton;" which accordingly was thus performed. At midnight (soon after his death) being first embalmed and wrapped in a leaden coffin, he was, in a hearse, conveyed to the said field, (the said Mr. Barkstead, by order of his father, attending close to the hearse;) and, being come to the field, there found, about the midst of it, a grave, dug about nine feet deep, with the green sod carefully laid on one side, and the mould on the other; in which, the coffin being soon put, the grave was instantly filled up, and the green sod laid exactly flat upon it, care being taken, that the surplus mould was clean taken away.

Soon after, like care was taken, that the said field was entirely ploughed up, and sown three or four years successively with wheat.

Several other material circumstances, relating to the said interment, the said Mr. Barkstead relates (too long to be here inserted) and, particularly, after the Restoration, his conference with the late (witty) Duke of Buckingham, &c.

Talking over this account of Barkstead's, with the reverend Mr. Sm——, of Q——, whose father had long resided in Florence, as a merchant, and afterwards as minister from King Charles the Second, and had been well acquainted with the fugitives after the Restoration; he assured me, he had often heard the said account by other hands: those miscreants always boasting, that they had wrecked their revenge against the father, as far as human foresight could carry it, by beheading him, whilst living; and making his best friends the executors of the utmost ignominies upon him, when dead. Asking him the particular meaning of the last sentence? he said, that Oliver, and his friends, apprehending the

restoration of the Stuart family, and that all imaginable disgrace, on that turn, would be put upon his body, as well as memory; he contrived his own burial, as averred by Barkstead, having all the theatrical honours of a pompous funeral paid to an empty coffin,* into which, afterwards, was removed the corpse of the martyr, (which, by Lord Clarendon's own account, had never truly or certainly been interred; and, after the Restoration, when most diligently sought after, by the Earls of Southampton and Lindsey, at the command of King Charles the Second, in order to a solemn removal, could no where, in the church where he was said to have been buried, be found,) that, if any sentence should be pronounced, as upon his body, it might effectually fall upon that of the King. That on that order of the Commons, in King Charles the Second's time, the tomb was broken down, and the body taken out of a coffin so inscribed, as mentioned in the serjeant's report, was from thence conveyed to Tyburn; and (to the utmost joy and triumph of that crew of miscreants) hung publicly on the gallows, amidst an infinite crowd of spectators, almost infected with the noisomeness of the stench. The secret being only amongst that abandoned few, there was no doubt in the rest of the people, but the bodies, so exposed, were the bodies they were said to be; had not some, whose curiosity had brought them nearer to the tree, observed, with horror, the remains of a countenance they little had expected there; and that, on tying the cord, there was a strong seam about the neck, by which the head had been, as was supposed, immediately after the decollation, fastened again to the body.

This being whispered about, and the numbers that came to the dismal sight hourly increasing, notice was immediately given of the suspicion to the attending officer, who dispatched a messenger to court, acquaint them with the rumour, and the ill conse-

* Refers, of course, to Cromwell's £60,000 burial in the Abbey.

quences the spreading or examining into it further, might have. On which the bodies were immediately ordered down, to be buried again, to prevent any infection. Certain is it, they were not burnt, as in prudence, for that pretended reason, might have been expected ; as well as in justice, to have shewn the utmost detestation for their crimes, and the most lasting mark of infamy they could inflict upon them. This was the account he gave. What truth there is in it, is not so certain. Many circumstances make the surmise not altogether improbable : as all those enthusiasts, to the last moment of their lives, ever gloried in the truth of it.

These records, whether of truth or legend, form a knot which requires a deal of disentangling. The Calves Head Club account differs, so far as it goes, from the Barkstead MS. only in its statement that the Roundheads removed Charles's body "to the place of common execution," whereas the MS. says that it went (? first) to the Cromwell coffin in the Abbey. Whatever the truth may be, it seems possible that something of an irregular nature may have happened and that there is some reason to doubt if all that is mortal of Charles reposes at Windsor and the trunk of Oliver under Connaught Square where was Tyburn. But "Iram indeed has gone and all his rose." Even if the ghost of Barkstead Junior still frequents the spot where Mr. Richards kept his coffee-house, and is still "ready to depose," there is no getting either truth or lies from a ghost.

XXI

INSTRUCTIONS AGAINST FIRE

Seasonable Advice for preventing the Mischief of Fire, that may come by Negligence, Treason, or otherwise. Ordered to be printed by the Lord-Mayor of London ; and is thought very necessary to hang in every Man's House, especially in these dangerous Times. Invented by William Gosling, Engineer. Printed for H. B. at the Castle in Cornhill, 1643.

HOW MANY SEVERAL WAYS, HOUSES, TOWNS, AND
CITIES, HAVE BEEN SET ON FIRE.

SOME have been burnt by bad hearths, chimneys, ovens, or by pans of fire set upon boards ; some by clothes hanged against the fire ; some by leaving great fires in chimneys, (where the sparks or sickles breaking, fell and fired the boards,) painted cloaths, wainscots, rushes, mats, as houses were burnt in Shoreditch ; some by powder, or shooting off pieces ; some by tinder or matches ; some by setting candles under shelves ; some by leaving candles near their beds ; some by snuffs of candles, tobacco-snuffs, burnt papers ; and some by drunkards, as many houses were burnt in Southwark ; some by warming beds ; some by looking under beds with candles ; some by sleeping at work, leaving their candles by them ; so many have been burnt of several trades ; some by setting candles near the thatch of houses ; some by snuffs or sparks fallen upon gun-powder, or upon mats, rushes, chips, small-coal, and in chinks ; so Wimbleton was burnt : Some towns were burnt by malt-kilns ; some by candles in stables ; or by foul chimneys ; some by candles amongst hemp, flax, and warehouses ; some by candles falling out of their candlesticks ; some by sticking their

candles upon posts ; some by links knocked at shops, stalls, cellars, windows, warehouses, doors, and dangerous places ; some by carrying fire from place to place, where the wind hath blown about the streets, as it did burn St. Edmund's-Bury ; some by warm sea-coal, cinders put in baskets, or wooden things, as did burn London-bridge : And some have been burnt without either fire or candle, as by wet hay, corn, straw, or by mills, wheels, or such like ; all which hath been by carelessness : And some have been fired of purpose, by villainy or treason.

ORDERS TO BE OBSERVED, THAT FIRE
MAY NOT HAPPEN.

IS, that every house-keeper, either himself, or one by his appointment, that should be last up, see to the fire and candle, and to shut the cellar-windows, doors, casements, garret-windows, and to stop holes, and sinks, that fire may not come in by treason, or otherwise. To prevent treason that may come by wild-fire, is to stop the wild-fire simples, where they are sold. Seek to prevent fire at the beginning, and by the sight of smoke, to look to it, for divers fires have been so prevented. Some have been prevented by smelling old wood, linen, or woollen burn ; and some, by hearing the crackling of sticks, coals, or sparks of fire, have prevented mischief thereby. If you will use candle all night, let your candlestick be a pot of water brim-full, and set it where it shall stand ; then light a candle, and stick a great pin in the bottom of the candle, and let it slowly into the water, and it will burn all night without danger. If the wood under the hearth of a chimney be on fire, then take heed you do not open it too suddenly, before you cast water upon it ; for, the air getting in, the fire will burst forth : therefore still throw water, and open it by degrees. And that the bricklayers should look better to the foundations of hearths and ovens, to prevent the hurts of fire. If chimneys be on

fire, either wet hay, or straw, or a wet blanket, or a kettle of water hung over, or bay-salt cast into the fire, or a piece shot up into the chimney, will help it. And that the watch might be from daylight to day-light, at such a distance, that they may see and hear from one watch to the other ; that some might be upon gates, towers, or churches, if need be, to give notice to the watch below, upon any occasion, to prevent both enemy and fire.

ORDERS, THAT IF FIRE SHOULD HAPPEN EITHER BY
WILD-FIRE, OR OTHERWISE, TO PREVENT THE
MISERIES THEREOF.

THAT the bells, going backward, do give notice of fire ; and that all officers and others must keep the streets or lanes ends, that the rude people may be kept from doing mischief ; for sometimes they do more harm than fire : and suffer none but the workers to come near, and all the streets from the fire to the water, may have double rows or ranks of men on each side of the street, to hand empty pails, pots, or buckets, to the water, and to return full to the fire, by the other row or rank of people, on the same side of the street ; so, as the streets afford, you may have divers ranks ; and, by this order, water may be brought to quench it, or earth to choak it, and smother it, with that speed and plenty as need requires.

All those of higher or level ground should throw down water to run to the place where the fire is, and there to stop it, and others to sweep up the waters of kennels towards the fire. If water-pipes run through the streets, you may open one against the house that is on fire, and set another pipe in that upright, and two or three feet lower than the height of the head of the same water, set in some gutter, trough, or pipe, unto the upright pipe, to convey the water to the fire ; for, under the foresaid height, it will run itself from high

ponds, or from Sir Hugh Middleton's water *; or conduit heads, or from the water-houses, without any other help, into the fire, as you will have it. You may keep great scoops or squirts of wood in houses; or, if you will, you may have in the parish a great squirt on wheels, that may do very good service.

Where wild-fire is, milk, urine, sand, earth, or dirt, will quench it; but any thing else, set on fire by that, will be quenched as before. If there be many houses standing together, and are endangered by a mighty fire, before it can be quenched or choaked with earth; then you may pull down the next house opposite to the wind, and then earth and rubbish being cast upon the fire, and round about it, will choak the violence of the fire, besides the water you may get to do the like. Also it is necessary that every parish should have hooks, ladders, squirts, buckets, and scoops, in readiness, upon any occasion.

O! the miseries of cities, towns, villages, and particular houses that have been burnt, where some could not recover their losses in thirty years after, and some never; which have been lamentable spectacles unto us, when many men, women, and children have been burnt in their houses; and multitudes of people utterly undone, that saw all their wealth burned before their eyes. Besides, many have been hurt, many killed, and many burned, that came but to help to quench the fires. What lamentable cries, frightenings and amazements there were to all sorts of people; some sick, some in childbed, and some great with child, to the terror of them all: and all was through the miseries of fire, that came by carelessness and wilfulness.

Therefore, let the very sight of fire and candle put us in mind to prevent the like miseries that have come by fire, both in London and the parts of England; for great winds may rise suddenly, and enemies furies may do mischief. To master the elements is either to in-

* *i.e.*, The New River, brought by Sir Hugh from Amwell to London.

crease or decrease any of them ; for, as air makes fire increase, so earth will choak it, and water will quench it.

Preventions of fires would save the often collections of money in all churches in England ; all which is for the profit and safety of the commonwealth. As good order and care prevent our fear of fire, so a good life prevents the ways to sin : and if every one mend one, then all will be mended. The Lord commandeth us to have care of our neighbours goods, Deut. xxii. For the love of our neighbour fulfilleth the law, Rom. xiii.

XXII

SOME QUAINΤ TITLES

LENGTHY titles, so familiar to readers of seventeenth century literature, began to go out of fashion with the age of Pope. The elaborately descriptive title-pages of old books, fanciful, fantastic, queer, quaint and curious as they sometimes are, delight in themselves and often indeed make more spirited reading than the work they herald. An isolated gallant attempt to revive the custom was made recently in a clever book of satirical verse entitled "Helicon Hill. Being a Pleasant Posy of rather Wild Flowers gathered on the foothills of Parnassus and judged very meet for the brows of Contemporary Rhymers by Felix Folio Gent. of London."

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English Villanies, seven several times prest to death, by the printers ; but still reviving again, are now, the eighth time, as at first discovered by lanthorne and candle-light, and the help of a new cryer, called O-per-se-O : whose loud voice proclaims, to all that will hear him, another conspiracy of abuses, lately plotting together to hurt the peace of this kingdom ; which the bellman, because he then went stumbling in the dark, could never see till now. And, because a company of rogues, cunning and canting gypsies, and all the scumme of our nation fight heere, under their tattered colours ; at the end is a canting dictionary, to teach their language : with canting songs. A book to make gentlemen merry ; citixens warie ; countrimen carefull. Fit for all justices to read over ; because it is a pilot, by whom they may make strange discoveries. London, printed by M. Parsons. 1638. (Quarto, in black letter.)

Oldys says that this pamphlet "is dedicated to the justices of the peace, in the county of Middlesex, by Thomas Dekker, author of many plays, poems, and pamphlets ; he being then aged threescore years. That O-per-se-O is nothing but the burden of a canting song, appears in chapter 18, where the meetings,

manners, and language of the gypsies, vagabonds, and thieves of those times, are as perfectly described, as if the author of that part of the work had been one of their gang, and lived among them all his life: for master Dekker avoids being thought the author himself; by telling us, in the margin of that chapter, that ‘this discourse was sent from a stranger,’ who, in the entrance of it, says—‘he had served in the office of high-constable, and drew from the examination of such lewd persons, as came before him, the truth of all those villanies, which here he publishes.’”

News from Powles: or the new reformation of the army: with a true relation of a coult that was foaled in the cathedrall church of St. Paul, in London; and how it was publiquely baptized by Paul Hobson's soldiers one of them p——g in his helmet, and sprinkling it, in the name of the father, son, and holy ghost: and the name (because a bald colt) was called Baal-Rex. With a catalogue of the blasphemies, murders, cheats, lies, and juglings of some of the independant party. 1649. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

“This shameful prank,” we are told, “in those licentious times, was no novelty: for we may read in Edwards’s Gangrena that captain Beaumont, and his soldiers, christened his horse at the font of Yakesley church, in Huntingdonshire, in June 1644, just after the same manner; one acting the minister, others the godfathers, another the godmother; and sprinkling him, &c. with the same kind of water, named him (because he was hairy) ‘Bald Esau.’”

Margery Good-Cow, that gave a gallon of milk, and kicked down the pail, and bewrai'd the milkmaid; what did she merit? speak, gentlemen: or, a short discourse, shewing, that there is not a farthing due from this nation to old Oliver for all his pretended services; and, if any thing be given his son, it must be in respect of his own personal virtues, and modest behaviours, during his being protector, and not out of any respect to his ill-deserving father. 1659. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

As its title implies, a pasquinade against Cromwell.

The She-Wedding : or, a Mad Marriage, between Mary, a Seaman's Mistress ; and Margaret, a Carpenter's Wife at Deptford. Being the full relation of a cunning intrigue carried on, and managed by two women, to hide the discovery of a great belly, and make the parents of her sweetheart provide for the same ; for which fact, the said parties were both committed ; and one of them now remains in the Round-House at Greenwich, the other being bailed out. Printed by George Croom, &c. 1684. (Quarto, in one sheet.)

Mary's young man having deserted her she persuaded her friend Margaret to dress up as a man and marry her in order to deceive the young man's mother into believing he had married her before his departure. The conspirators appear to have also deceived the minister and induced his clerk to ante-date the certificate. Detection subsequently came from their inability to keep a still tongue, "insomuch," says the pamphleteer, "that it became the public discourse of the whole town of Deptford ; the young maids laughing at the flat sport they had the first night, the graver matrons at the impudence of the parties that should so vilify and disgrace the honest state of matrimony." The lengthy account contains the moral—less cynical, perhaps, than, say, Solomonic—that "it hath been the policy of the prince of darkness in all ages, when any of his work was to be carried on which required a more than ordinary cunning, to employ a female craft therein."

XXIII

THE "SILLY SEASON" IN HORSHAM

True and Wonderfull. A Discourse relating a strange and monstrous Serpent (or Dragon) lately discovered, and yet living, to the great Annoyance and divers Slaughters both of Men and Cattell, by his strong and violent Poyson : In Sussex, two Miles from Horsam, in a Woode called St. Leonard's Forrest, and thirtie Miles from London, this present Month of August, 1614. With the true Generation of Serpents. Printed at London, by John Trundle, 1614.

THE subject of this August-dated pamphlet gives the opportunity of recording that August in London is no longer known as "the silly season." Until quite recently, people of money and leisure being out of town at that time, the newspapers, more exclusively concerned than they are nowadays with their doings, were at a loss for news. The season thus came to be associated with correspondence from readers on academic subjects, and with reports of improbable sea-serpents, giant gooseberries and the like. Whether the report which follows is improbable I leave to the reader to determine. Oldys "cannot well doubt of its truth."

I have omitted the "Generation of Serpents" preceding it as being lengthy and remote in style and general interest from the way in which Sir Thos. Browne would have treated the subject.

In Sussex, there is a pretty market-towne, called Horsam, neare unto it a forrest, called St. Leonard's Forrest, and there, in a vast and unfrequented place, heathie, vaultie, full of unwholesome shades, and overgrowne hollowes, where this serpent is thought to be bred ; but, wheresoever bred, certaine and too true it is, that there it yet lives. Within three of four miles compasse, are its usual haunts, oftentimes at a place

called Faygate, and it hath been seene within halfe a mile of Horsam ; a wonder, no doubt, most terrible and noisome to the inhabitants thereabouts. There is always in his tracke or path left a glutinous and slimie matter (as by a small similitude we may perceive in a snaile's) which is very corrupt and offensive to the scent ; insomuch that they perceive the air to be putrified withall, which must needes be very dangerous. For though the corruption of it cannot strike the outward part of a man, unless heated into his blood ; yet by receiving it in at any of our breathing organs (the mouth or nose) it is by authoritie of all authors, writing in that kinde, mortall and deadlie, as one thus saith : *Noxia sepentum est admixto sanguine pestis*. Lucan. This serpent (or dragon, as some call it) is reputed to be nine feete, or rather more, in length, and shaped almost in the forme of an axeltree of a cart ; a quantitie of thickness in the middest, and somewhat smaller at both endes. The former part, which he shootes forth as a necke, is supposed to be an elle long ; with a white ring, as it were, of scales about it. The scales along his backe seem to be blackish, and so much as is discovered under his bellie, appeareth to be red ; for I speak of no nearer description than of a reasonable ocular distance. For coming too neare it, hath already beene too dearely payd for, as you shall heare hereafter.

It is likewise discovered to have large feete, but the eye may be there deceived ; for some suppose that serpents have no feete, but glide upon certain ribbes and scales, which both defend them from the upper part of their throat unto the lower part of their bellie, and also cause them to move much the faster. For so this doth, and rids way (as we call it) as fast as a man can run. He is of countenance very proud, and at the sight or hearing of men or cattel, will raise his necke upright, and seem to listen and looke about, with great arrogancy. There are likewise on either side of him discovered, two great bunches so big as a large foote-

ball, and (as some thinke) will in time grow to wings ; but God, I hope, will (to defend the poor people in the neighbourhood) that he shall be destroyed before he grow so fledged.

He will cast his venome about four rodde from him, as by woefull experience it was proved on the bodies of a man and a woman comming that way, who afterwards were found dead, being poysoned and very much swelled, but not prayed upon. Likewise a man going to chase it, and as he imagined, to destroy it with two mastive dogs, as yet not knowing the great danger of it, his dogs were both killed, and he himselfe glad to returne with hast to preserve his own life. Yet this is to be noted, that the dogs were not prayed upon, but slaine and left whole : for his food is thought to be, for the most part, in a conie-warren, which he much frequents ; and it is found much scanted and impaired in the encrease it had woont to afford.

These persons, whose names are hereunder printed, have seene this serpent, beside divers others, as the carrier of Horsam, who lieth at the White Horse in Southwarke, and who can certifie the truth of all that has been here related.

John Steele.

Christopher Holder.

And a Widow Woman dwelling nere Faygate.

XXIV

SUNDAY RECREATIONS

KING JAMES I. in 1617 published a "Declaration concerning lawful sports to be used" which his son Charles, in 1633, renewed and confirmed owing to complaints that the Presbyterians had forbidden their servants to be present at public recreation on Sundays. "Papists and Puritans," according to James, had alike combined to bar his people from their lawful amusements, and "this cannot but produce two evils: the one, the hindering of the conversion of many, whom their priests will take occasion hereby to vex; persuading them, that no honest mirth or recreation is lawful, or tolerable, in our religion; which cannot but breed a great discontentment in our people's hearts, especially of such as are, peradventure, upon the point of turning. The other inconvenience is, that this prohibition barreth the common and meaner sort of people from using such exercises, as may make their bodies more able for war, when we, or our successors, shall have occasion to use them; and, in place thereof, sets up filthy tipplings and drunkenness, and breeds a number of idle and discontented speeches in their alehouses: for, when shall the common people have leave to exercise, if not upon the Sundays and holidays? Seeing they must apply their labour, and win their living in all working-days. . . .

"Our pleasure therefore is, that the bishop of that diocese take the like strait order with all the Puritans and Precisians within the same; either constraining them to conform themselves, or to leave the county, according to the laws of our kingdom, and canons of

our church ; and so to strike equally, on both hands, against the contemners of our authority, and adversaries of our church. And as for our good people's lawful recreation, our pleasure likewise is, that after the end of divine service, our good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged, from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women ; archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any such harmless recreation ; nor from having of May-games, Whitson-ales,* and Morrice-dances ; and the setting up of May-poles, and other sports therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of divine service ; and that women shall have leave to carry rushes to the church, for the decoring of it, according to their old custom. But, withal, we do here account still as prohibited, all unlawful games to be used upon Sundays only ; as bear and bull-baitings, interludes, and, at all times, (in the meaner sort of people by law prohibited) bowling."

Charles ratifies the Declaration "the rather," he says, "because of late, in some counties of our kingdom, we find, that, under pretence of taking away abuses, there hath been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary meetings, but of the feasts of the dedication of the churches, commonly called Wakes." These Wakes, still held, by the way, in Lancashire, are mentioned in Bourne's *Antiq. Vulgares* as being of great antiquity. They took place on the day of the Saint to whom the village-church was dedicated. Booths were erected in the church-yard and on the adjacent plain ; and, after divine service, the rest of the time was devoted to the occupations of the fair, and to rustic merriment.

* *Ale*, says Warton, is *festival* : whence Whitson-ale, in our midland counties, is the common name for the rural sports and feasting at Whitsuntide. Hist. of Eng. Poetry, vol. iii. 129. See also a curious and critical account of the Morris-dance at the end of Douce's Illustrations of Shakespeare, &c., where the May-games are introduced.

XXV

OLD PARR

The old, old, very old Man : Or, The Age and long Life of Thomas Parr, the Son of John Parr, of Winnington, in the Parish of Alderbury, in the County of Salop, or Shropshire ; who was born in the Reign of King Edward the Fourth, in the Year 1483. He lived one-hundred and fifty-two Years, nine Months, and odd Days ; and departed this Life, at Westminster, the Fifteenth of November, 1635 ; and is now buried in the Abbey at Westminster. His Manner of Life and Conversation in so long a Pilgrimage ; his Marriages, and his Bringing up to London, about the End of September last, 1635. Whereunto is added a Postscript, shewing the many remarkable Accidents that happened in the Life of this old Man. Written by John Taylor. London, Printed for Henry Gosson, at his Shop on London-Bridge, near to the Gate ; 1635.

TAYLOR, the Water Poet—so called because he was one of the King's watermen—made a mixed grill, as it were, of this pamphlet, which contains dedicatory verse to King Charles I., a prose account of Parr's journey to London, his life in a long poem, and a postscript with a record of events and changes in customs and manners while he lived. Also are added some interesting notes ; one of which states that Parr's son lived to 113, his grandson to 109, a great-grandson to 124, and a great-grand-daughter to 103. There seems to be no reason to doubt these remarkable longevities or the record generally.

Another note, explaining an allusion in the text, tells us of Jeffery Hudson, the King's dwarf, who figures in one of Ainsworth's romances. This mini-kin stood but eighteen inches high, though, surprisingly, at thirty he shot up to three feet, nine inches. At seven or eight years of age he was served up at the Duke of Buckingham's table in a cold pie and

presented to the Queen. On another occasion a giant of the Court surprised the audience at a masque by taking him from his pocket. He died in confinement, aged 63, under suspicion of being concerned in the Popish plot.

The journey to London was instigated by the famous virtuoso Thomas, Earl of Arundel. Great care was taken of the old fellow. The Earl "commanded that a litter and two horses, for the more easy carriage of a man so enfeebled and worn with age, be provided for him: also, that a daughter-in-law of his, named Lucy, should likewise attend him, and have a horse for her own riding with him; and, to cheer up the old man, and make him merry, there was an antic-faced fellow, called Jack, or John the Fool, with a high and mighty no beard, that had also a horse for his carriage." Change of air and diet, and the excitement (a great show was made of him and he had the honour of kissing the King's hand), seem, however, to have been too much for him. Perhaps the "antic-faced fellow" contributed. Within six weeks, at any rate, he was dead and buried in the Abbey.

Parr was more than something of a *vieux marcheur*. In the year of the Armada, being then 105 and with a colt's tooth in his head, he did penance in a white sheet, in Alberbury Church, for an offence with one Katherine Milton. Taylor, sympathising with him somewhat, observes:—

Should all that so offend such penance do,
O! what a price would linnens rise unto!

Which is true enough and neat. He also tells a story of the old gentleman's shrewdness. The three leases of sixty-three years on his house being expired, "he took his last lease of his landlord, one Mr. John Porter, for his life; with which lease he did live more than fifty years, as is further hereafter declared: but this old man would, for his wife's sake, renew his lease for

years, which his landlord would not consent unto ; wherefore Old Parr, having been long blind, sitting in his chair by the fire, his wife looked out of the window, and perceived Mr. Edward Porter, the son of his landlord, to come towards their house, which she told her husband, saying, ‘ Husband, our young landlord is coming hither.’ ‘ Is he so, (said Old Parr,) I prithee, wife, lay a pin on the ground near my foot, or at my right-toe ; ’ which she did ; and when young Mr. Porter, yet forty years old, was come into the house, after salutations between them, the old man said, ‘ Wife, is not that a pin which lies at my foot ? ’ ‘ Truly, husband, (quoth she,) it is a pin indeed : ’ so she took up the pin, and Mr. Porter was half in amaze that the old man had recovered his sight again ; but it was quickly found to be a witty conceit, thereby to have them to suppose him to be more lively than he was, because he hoped to have his lease renewed for his wife’s sake, as aforesaid.

The shrewdness aforesaid is also evidenced in a dryly humorous comment on his attitude towards the religious strife of the many reigns he had known. “ All which time,” says Taylor, “ Thomas Parr hath not been troubled in mind for either the building or throwing down of abbeyes and religious houses : nor did he ever murmur at the manner of prayers, let them be Latin or English. He held it safest to be of the religion of the king or queen that were in being ; for he knew that he came raw into the world, and accounted it no point of wisdom to be broiled out of it.”

As interesting a part of the record as any is the Post-script. There we learn that Parr was above 80 before any guns were made in England, 1535. Other items of interest are :—

“ The vintners sold no other sacks, muscadels, malmesies, bastards, alicants, nor any other wines but white and claret, till 33 Hen. VIII. 1543, and then was Old

Parr sixty years of age. All those sweet wines were sold till that time at the apothecaries, for no other use but for medicines.

“ There was no starch used in England, till a Flanders woman, one mistress Dinghen Vanden Plasse, brought in the use of starch, 1564 : and then was this man near eighty years old.

“ There were no bands* wore till king Henry the Eighth's time ; for he was the first king that ever wore a band in England, 1513.

“ Women's masks, busks, muffs, fans, perriwigs, and bodkins, were invented by Italian courtezans ; and transported through France into England, 9 Eliz.

“ Tobacco was first brought into England by sir John Hawkins, 1565 ; but it was first brought into use by sir Walter Rawleigh many years after.

“ He was eighty-one years old, before there was any coach in England. For the first, that ever was seen here, was brought out of the Netherlands, by one William Boonen, a Dutchman, who gave a coach to queen Elizabeth ; for she had been seven years a queen before she had any coach : since when, they have increased, with a mischief, and ruined all the best house-keeping, to the undoing of the watermen, by the multitudes of hackney or hired coaches. But they never swarmed so thick to pester the streets, as they do now, till the year 1605 ; and then was the Gunpowder-treason hatched, and at that time did the coaches breed and multiply.

“ In the year 1499, 15 Hen. VII. wheat was sold for 4s. the quarter, or 6*d.* the bushel ; and bay-salt at 4*d.* and wine at 40 shillings the tun, which is about three farthings the quart.

“ In 1 Mar. beer was sold for sixpence the barrel, the cask and all ; and three great loaves for a penny.

“ In the year 1557, 5 Mar. the penny wheaten-loaf

* These appendages to the collar and neckcloth are worn now only by lawyers in court.

was, in weight, fifty-six ounces ; and in many places people would change a bushel of corn for a pound of candles."

Such are the more entertaining portions of Taylor's pamphlet. We cannot be sufficiently grateful for that delectable passage in which the old man is said to have been for "the religion of the king or queen that were in being"—an earlier but apparently more admirable Vicar of Bray.

XXVI

A WELSH CENTENARIAN

WITH no notes available from former editors to vouch for this further story of longevity I myself will not venture where these angels have feared to tread. On the face of it, it seems to have some foundation in fact, and the reader may agree, at any rate, that it is worth reprinting for the few lively touches it contains. I have as usual condensed the narrative.

Wonderful News from Wales ; or, a True Narrative of an old Woman living near Lanselin in Denbighshire, whose Memory serves her truly and perfectly to relate what she hath seen and done one-hundred and thirty Years ago. Having now the full Number of her Teeth ; the most of them were lost, when she was three-score Years and Ten. She is also remembered, by some of ninety Years old, to be taller than she is by seventeen or eighteen Inches ; with several other Circumstances of her Life, which shew her to be the Wonder of her Age. Licensed August 9, 1677. London, printed for C. L. Anno Dom. 1677.

Not far from the seat of Old Parr, at this time lives (near Lanselin in Denbighshire) a woman named Jane Morgan, whose memory yet serves her to give an exact account of several things she hath seen and known one-hundred and thirty years ago. She walks uprightly, without the use of the least stick ; her teeth are almost all now perfect in her head, although about threescore years ago she had lost most of them ; she can see as well without spectacles, if not better than with them ; her hearing is quick and apprehensive, and her organs of smelling are so corroborated by age, that no stench can invade them to the least prejudice. She was the first that learned that famous and memorable tune called ‘ Sidanen,’ in all those parts. When queen Elizabeth

was crowned, she led all the dances, and continued the head of all that country sports, until the death of king James ; and was so sensible of the glory she had achieved by such continual custom, that she would not part with it, until she had bred her daughter up to have it conferred on her ; which she did in a public assembly, when the coronation of king Charles the First was solemnized. But before her daughter, as her deputy, had practised, and in her absence taught the country measures for the space of one-and-twenty years, having several tunes dedicated to her : ‘ Old Simon the King,’ was called her delight ; ‘ Jo Bent,’ her fancy ; ‘ Bob-in-joy ’ her conceit ; sleeping and waking she sung the ‘ Sidanen ;’ wherefore the neighbours called her by that name.

Her mother Jane Lloyd was married at twenty years of age to one Evan Morgan, an able farmer’s son, who was the activeſt and ſtrongeſt in his country at wrestling. But at a certain trial of skill, when he had foiled all the neighbours, and ſtrangers too ; ſhe put on man’s apparel, entered the round, and gave him three falls ; upon which ſhe bore away the little ſilver bell that was the conqueror’s due : but upon enquiry, who this valiant ſtranger was, the young man fell ſo deeply in love with her, that, maugre all his friends, he married her, and lived with her forty-five years, before her womb was mature for conception ; about the ſixty-ſixth year of her age, ſhe brought forth her firſt-born, a daughter, who did not conceive till the fifty-fifth year of her age.

Many masculine and heroic acts did this virago-mother do, and, though ſometimes the juſtices were ſevere, yet their warrants were always void ; and, like curses of malefactors, returned upon themſelves : for whatever ground ſhe trod on, was to catch-polls and petty conſtables as fatal, as Irish earth to venomous creatures.

But, as the longeſt day will have a night, ſpiteful age

wrought a tendency towards a decay, upon her vigorous nerves ; yet in all this while time could not make her subject to the least disease, though it has submitted her to the most unheard-of shifts for food as ever were or can be ; and, by the calculation of her stomach, she may be thought now to be in the meridian of her age. Hundreds of her neighbours can justify, that of what disease soever, cattle, horses, swine, sheep, or the like, die, her stomach (so far is fantastic prejudice unable to make the least impression on her) has a menstruum to digest gratefully such fetid flesh, that others would not only abhor, but it would put such stress and violence upon them, that irresistible death would infallibly follow.

It is a certain truth, that carrion, buried two or three days, in the winter-time, she will take up, which without any other preparation she will slice, and fling as collops upon the coals, which she will eat as savourly, as he that thinks he eats the best in town, when he hath the rarest cutlets dressed for him. And, if her prize cannot be at once eaten, she'll gently and carefully salt the remainder, and expose it to the greatest fury of her smoaking cell, and prudently reserve it as a future happiness. If against a good time her neighbours' bounty will bestow any corn upon her, she will yet upon her head make shift to carry two bushels to the mill ; which though it be very remarkable in one of her age, it is very inconsiderable to what she hath done formerly.

When she was near an hundred years old, her occasions invited her about that time to Oswaldstrey market, which is three miles ; but, because of its ruggedness and length, she had better have gone from London to Barnet. After she had there filled her apron with cumbersome necessities to that bulk, that the burden seemed at some distance to walk before her ; she was told by a stander-by, that it was impossible for her to carry such a troublesome burden home. This

man's horse was then loaden with two pieces of coarse Welch cotton : she then scornfully answered it ; " If you put those two pieces, which your horse seems almost to shrink under, upon my shoulders, I will for a wager undertake to carry them as far as my house, before you and your horse can come thither." The man, being her neighbour, (fearful to lose, and unwilling to displease her) replied, " he was more willing to ease than trouble her." But one of the incredulous corporation, ignorant of her prodigious strength, wagered with her ; and suspecting her neighbour would be partial, he, with three or four of his most curious neighbours, got horses, and followed her presently ; and at the end of the two miles and a half they overtook the man, belabouring his weary horse. They asked him for the woman. He answered them, cursing, saying " he had two or three scurvy falls, and that he had no sight of her in a quarter of a mile." They, going forward, found her returned, sitting in her chimney-corner, smoaking tobacco in a comfortable short pipe ; at which they were astonished.

A thousand more considerable stories must here (for brevity-sake) be omitted. It will therefore be convenient to add a relation her neighbours give, in respect of her age : some of fourscore and ten remember they heard their fathers say, she was a very proper tall woman. In a house out of which she had seen buried eleven heirs, her proportion, as to her height, was taken above a hundred years ago ; and, the last year coming to the same place, she was found to want of that measure betwixt seventeen and eighteen inches ; and now she is four feet and four inches high, not at all stooping, at which the by-standers much admired ; which she perceiving, told them, that her mother was completely two yards ; and that, before she died, she shrunk to three feet and six inches : so that she concluded, by the graduation of their decays, before she had shrunk to her utmost, she must yet live above

threescore years ; and who knows but she may ? For she is as merry as a girl of fifteen, and will sing from morning till night ; her memory is so lively, that she'll tell stories of queen Elizabeth and king James, as fresh, and more pleasantly, than the sufferers in the late wars can.

I was the more willing to publish this, because I hoped some virtuosos would be so kind, as curiously to satisfy themselves of the truth, and then the world after ; with reasons how this comes to pass ; and why others live not to the same age ?

What sort of menstruum her stomach has ?

How are her organs ordered, since no stench offends her ? And, since it is a contradiction to say she grows less, how comes the whole contexture of her body, with such consent of parts, to be diminished ? And, since the bones must consequently be contracted, how come we to find bones, long buried, of the same length as when first interred ?

If any person question the truth of this narrative, or desire to satisfy their curiosity, let them repair to West-Smithfield, where she is daily expected, to convince the world of the truth thereof.

XXVII

THE REGICIDES

The Trial and Condemnation of Colonel Adrian Scroope, Mr. John Carew, Mr. Thomas Scott, Mr. Gregory Clement, and Colonel John Jones, who sat as Judges upon our late Sovereign Lord King Charles. Together with their several Answers and Pleas, at the Sessions-House in the Old-Bailey, Friday the 12th of October 1660, before the Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, appointed by his Majesty for that Purpose. James ii. v. 13. 'For he shall have Judgment without Mercy, that shewed no Mercy.' London : printed for John Stafford and Edward Thomas, 1660.

THIS day being Friday the twelfth of October, 1660, the king's lords-justices, for trial of several persons, who had a hand in the death of our late sovereign, sat in the sessions-house in the Old Bailey, and called to the bar the persons following, viz.

Col. Adrian Scroope.	Gregory Clement.
John Carew.	John Jones.
Thomas Scott.	

Col. Adrian Scroope was first called to his trial ; who, having excepted against several of the jury, at last had such a one as he agreed to.

Proclamation being made, and silence commanded, the indictment was read, and one of the king's council stood up, and spoke to this effect :

“ Gentlemen of the Jury,

You have heard by the indictment of several that did assemble themselves together, to compass and take away the life of the king our late sovereign, among which persons the prisoner at the bar was one, who, under his hand and seal, did consent to the said murder : first, by setting hand to the commission, which

gave being to that bloody court ; and afterwards by signing that bloody warrant, which occasioned the severing his head from his body ; which we can prove by several witnesses.”

The court calls for the warrant of the king’s execution, and went to shew it to one of the witnesses ; which, when Col. Scroope saw, he said, “ My lord, let me see it ; if it be my hand, I will not deny it.”

[The warrant is carried to him.]

Scroope. My lord, I do not deny but it is my hand.

Mr. Maſterton, one of the witnesses, is sworn.

King’s Council. Whether did you see this gentleman sitting amongst the judges of the king ?

Maſterton. My lord, I was at the ‘ High-Court of Justice ’ so called, several times, and I saw the prisoner at the bar sitting amongst them, and particularly on the twenty-seventh of January, being the day on which sentence was given.

Scroope. My lord, pray ask this gentleman whether he and I were ever in company together, that he should know me so well ; for I never saw him in my life before to my knowledge.

To which it was answered, “ that he in person answered to that name, and was the man.” Several other witnesses were sworn to the same purpose. *Col. Scroope* desired that one might be asked, “ if he could tell whereabouts he sat ? ” to which the witness answered,

“ My lord, I cannot say that positively ; I cannot remember such a circumstance so long : but, to the best of my remembrance, he was the uppermost judge on the right-hand.”

Sir Richard Brown was sworn, to give evidence concerning several treasonable words that he should speak about the king’s murder. The act for constituting the ‘ high-court of justice ’ was likewise read ; and *Col. Scroope* owned that to be his hand which subscribed thereunto ; saying, “ he did not desire that witnesses

should be sworn to more than was needful." *The King's Council* then spoke to the jury, and told them, "That they had heard by six several witnesses, that the prisoner had sat amongst the king's judges; and by three, that he sat the day which was by them called, 'the day of judgment.'" *The Prisoner* said, "That he had a great disadvantage in answering to such learned men, who were to plead against him, and said, that he would not undertake to justify his person, but desired time and council to answer to matter of law."

The Judge. That is where you have matter of law.

The Prisoner answered, "My lord, I was not of the parliament, I beseech you take notice of that; and that which was done, my lord, was by a 'high-court of justice,' who had a commission from the parliament. My lord, it was that authority which was then accounted the supreme authority, that the generality of the nation submitted to: having received command from that authority, it was, in obedience to the same, that I sat; I was promoted thereunto by that command. I have not time to bring these matters to a head, because I have been these six weeks close prisoner in the Tower, that I could not get council to prepare myself: therefore, my lord, let me have some time, and council, to provide myself to plead. My lord, I was no contriver of that business, only executed the command." To which was answered, "That that, which he called the parliament, was no parliament; that there was no colour of authority to justify them; and that, if the whole house of commons had been sitting, as these pretending that authority were not a sixth part, yet they could not act against the life of the least cripple at the gate, without the king, much less against himself."

Col. Scroope. I say, my lord, I am but a single person; and, if there be mistakes, I am not the only person that have been misled: I hope that an error in judgment will not be accounted an error in will, and shall not be accounted malice. Truly, my lord, I must say this, and

I desire your lordship to take notice of me, that I am without any malice at all.

After several things of the like nature, hoping the authority of the Rump-parliament would clear him, and be taken as a sufficient plea for his aforesaid treasonable conspiracy, *the Judge* asked him, "if he had any thing further to offer in the case?" Which he being not able to do; the charge was given to the jury, who never went out of the court to give in their verdict; and being asked, according to the form, "Whether the prisoner at the bar was guilty of the high-treason whereof he stood indicted, or not guilty?" *The Foreman* said, "Guilty;" and so they said all. Whereupon the prisoner was taken from the bar, and shackled with chains.

The next, who was called to the bar, was Mr. John Carew, who, after the formalities of the court were passed as aforesaid, and the indictment read, he was charged by the king's council as followeth:

"The prisoner at the bar stands indicted for (not having the fear of God before his eyes) imagining, contriving, and compassing the death of our late sovereign of blessed memory: for the proof of this, there are several things in the indictment which do discover their private imaginations, which is, that they did meet and consult, &c. There is a statute of the 25th of Edward the Third, against imagining, designing, or compassing the death of the king, which ye are to enquire after.

"There was a thing called the 'High Court of Justice,' in which bloody court our sovereign was tried, and this gentleman was one of those miscreants that had the confidence, nay, the impudence to sit amongst them, and afterwards sealed to that bloody roll whereupon he was executed."

Several witnesses, being examined, spoke to this effect: That they saw him several days in that court sitting amongst those who were called the king's

judges, and particularly on the twenty-seventh day of January, 1648, on which day the sentence was passed ; also knew that to be his hand, which was to the warrant for the king's execution, and for establishing a high-court of justice. Whereupon the prisoner was asked, " What he had to say for himself ? " Who answered, " That he came not there to deny any thing that he had done ; that whereas what was done in the case, was ushered in with these words, ' Not having the fear of God before his eyes ; ' he did declare it was not done in such a fear, ' but in the fear of the holy and righteous Lord, the judge of the earth. ' " Whereat the court was much troubled and disturbed, that he should make God the author of their treason and murder. But he went on to this purpose : " When this came about, there was an ordinance wherein my name was set, which when I saw, I struck it out ; I leave it to the Lord to judge, I thought not well of it, and so was very unwilling to appear in it, there being, as I thought, enough besides me to be employed in it, and therefore I speak the truth, as it is in Jesus, to shew how I had the fear of the Lord before me. I say, as to what I did was upon this account ; I did it, first, in obedience to the then supreme authority of England, and after the Lord gave answer to solemn appeals." Running on after this rate, the court was wearied with his discourse, and put him on to plead to his indictment. He desired he might declare the grounds whereupon the parliament proceeded, and give the grounds and reasons of the fact. To which the king's council said, " Then you must needs confess it." Whereupon he acknowledged, that " he was there, and proceeded according to the act of parliament." But was told, as the court had often said before, " That neither the lords nor the commons, jointly or severally, had any power without the king ; and that the power then in being had not the least colour of authority for what they did ; and that it was not a thing to be debated without denying our alle-

giance, that the subject can hold up his hand against his sovereign."

After, the lord Annesley made a learned speech, declaring the illegality of their proceedings ; that when a treaty was concluded with the king, and accordingly all things like to be settled, he and some other had contrived and designed to keep the far greater part of the members out against their allegiance, the laws of the land, and against the privileges of parliament, &c. making themselves an arbitrary parliament, and driving away the rest, &c. But Mr. Carew being not able to say any thing in defence of his high charge ; the jury never went out for it, but presently brought him in "Guilty."

Mr. Scott was brought next, and, after all the formalities of the court were over, he first pleaded the privilege of a parliament-man. Several witnesses were produced against him, that he so gloried in the death of the king, as to say, "That he desired it might be written upon his tombstone, to the end all the world might know it ;" as also other things, which expressed his malicious forwardness in that horrid murder. The main part of his pleading, was to justify the authority of the Rump-parliament, which, being so often answered before, need not here be inserted : the jury soon concluded with him likewise, and found him "Guilty."

Mr. Gregory Clement petitioned the court to wave his plea of "Not guilty ;" which the court granting, he confessed the indictment.

Col. John Jones confessed, that he was present at giving sentence against the king, only denied the form of the indictment ; whereupon a jury was, without his excepting against any, quickly sworn, and, according to his own confession, found him "Guilty."

The judge, in a very learned speech, endeavoured to make them sensible of the heinousness of the sin, and, persuading them to repentance, prayed God to have

mercy upon them, and read their sentence upon all together: " You shall go from hence to the place from whence you came, and from that place shall be drawn upon a hurdle to the place of execution, and there shall hang by the neck till you are half dead, and shall be cut down alive, and your privy-members cut off before your face and thrown into the fire, your belly ripped up and your bowels burnt, your head to be severed from your body, your body shall be divided into four quarters, and disposed as his Majesty shall think fit."

All were shackled with fetters, and carried to the Press-yard.

XXVIII

BULL-FIGHTING

An impartial and brief Description of the Plaza, or sumptuous Market-place of Madrid, and the Bull-baiting there, &c. By James Salgado, a Spaniard. 1683.

LINCOLN'S-INN-FIELDS are neither so large, nor spacious, as this place of public resort at Madrid, which is exactly square ; being surrounded with houses, uniform all along in their dimensions, erected to the altitude of five pair of stairs, with a great many most curious windows, and balconies overlaid with the purest gold. Moreover, the square is level ; to the end, that the foaming bulls, and prancing horses, may run their courses with the greater easiness and celerity. From the ground to the first pair of stairs, are reared up theatres made of timber for the people. The thirty balconies, set a-part for the king and court, are sumptuously furnished with the richest tapestry, and choicest velvet, that money or art can purchase. Here, it is observable, that all noblemen, whose lot it is not to attend the court for that present quarter, are denied the privilege of these balconies ; wherefore such persons may possess whatever other places they judge most convenient. In Spain there are divers kinds of councils, as the king's council, that of the Inquisition, war, India, Italy, the Low-Countries, and Arragon, and consequently counsellors of different degrees and qualities ; for which cause it is appointed, that each of those have their balconies a-part, beautified with silks and tapestry of colours differing, according to the diversity of those offices and officers.

All ambassadors from foreign kings and potentates

are treated after the same fashion, except the pope's legate ; whose modesty and piety, forsooth, lays such a restraint upon him, that that profane festival, not being of the church's appointment, must not be honoured with his presence. All other ranks of persons, assembled thither, may possess what seats they are able to purchase. This, I say, because the general confluence to this common play, from all corners, makes such a crowd ; that, notwithstanding the great number of theatres, balconies, and windows, mentioned elsewhere, none can purchase a room in the first pair of stairs, at a lower rate than two-hundred crowns ; yea, and those places which are not exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, after four o'clock, must be supposed to amount to a greater sum of money. Above the first row of windows, places may be got more easily. Seeing this festival falls out yearly in the months of June and July, any person may imagine, that a refreshing shadow cannot be enjoyed without much money, and great moyan ; because of the then extraordinary heat of this place, which ordinarily is known to be a most hot climate. In the cool of the evening (a most dangerous season, I confess,) all persons, promiscuously, throng thither ; but chiefly about ten of the clock at night, when the affections are much delighted with a most sweet melody and concert of instrumental and vocal musick, and, on all occasions of that nature, the guitar and harp are most frequently used ; because generally the Spaniards can dextrously play on those instruments. Where it is observable, that all musicians are had in great account at such a time, not respecting what persons they be ; which is hardly discernible, in regard that all are disguised by most gorgeous apparel. It is further to be observed, that if the jealous Spaniard can espy any man complimenting his wife with jocose words or kisses, without any consideration, he will furiously assault such a person with sword and cudgel, whence arise many most lamentable tragedies ; for the

preventing of which, the law has wisely appointed a considerable number of Alquaciles, whom we here call Constables ; whose proper and sole office it is, to mediate betwixt those persons, rewarding them with bonds and fetters for the commission of such horrid outrages.

The ensuing day, about eight of the clock in the morning, no place can be found empty ; whilst none of the members of the court are present, but the mayor and aldermen.

This morning game or recreation (called *Encierro*, or the Bringing forth of the Bull) is thus performed : there is a gate in Madrid, De la Vega by name, nigh to which a large room is appointed for the reception of the bulls, the day preceding this solemn feast, where they are gently fed, rather to render them the more furious, than in the least to strengthen the miserable creatures. It is certain, that, for the most part, bulls are more furious in Spain, than any other part of the world ; and there, more especially, such as feed by the rivers Tago and Jarama, flowing betwixt Toledo and Madrid.—But, to return to our purpose ; there is a long and straight street, or lane, adjoining to the house in which the bulls are shut up, and terminating in the place of public resort, where all passages are carefully stopped ; only, over-against the foresaid street, there is another large room left wide open, whither the mad animals do throng, finding no other place of refuge left them ; by which means, a most easy course is contrived for leading them forth to slaughter. I shall not detain you longer, by relating other passages of the *Encierro* : for it is a matter scarce worth our while, as being destitute of order or ornament, by reason of the court's absence. About two of the clock in the afternoon, twelve gladiators repair to the place, where all are permitted to fight, whom magnanimity, or boldness, shall excite thereto ; which liberty would unquestionably produce sad tragedies, if full gaols, and empty purses, were not sufficient means to stop such disorders. Two hours

after, there appear the nobility in their stately coaches ; all the ground being sprinkled over with water, because of the burning heat of the sun. Which, while it is a setting, the king and court, with the counsellors and ambassadors, are to be seen, to the great satisfaction of all persons. Upon the back of this, the royal constables, being twelve in number, in good equipage, and mounted on horses, with the richest harness imaginable, drive away all persons and disorders ; insomuch, that, in a very short time, the constables are to be seen, and none else in the plain square. Afterwards, twenty-four hogsheads of water are carried in waggons, resembling so many green mountains, because of their bigness, and being covered over with most fragrant herbs ; those large vessels are the seats of twenty-four men, who, upon demand, open the bung-holes ; so that, in an instant, the whole plain is besprinkled with water. In the next place, the king's life-guard, consisting of one-hundred Spaniards, and as many Germans, attend his majesty all along, being armed with halberts ; whom coats of red and yellow silk, and caps of the choicest black velvet, adorn exceedingly.

By this time, methinks, you have got a pretty clear idea of what is antecedaneous to the main thing in hand: so that, if the most stately balconies and theatres, if the vast number of people, if the nobility gorgeously (I had said wonderfully) arrayed ; if the king's constables maintaining good order, if, in the last place, his majesty's life-guard : I say, if each, and all of those be impartially canvassed by such a considerate person as you are, I doubt not, but you will be constrained, upon the most solid grounds and reasons imaginable, to join with me in the commendation of this festival, beyond any recreation in the world. I confess, France and Italy vaunt very much of their splendid games, as they call them ; and the English, upon more just grounds, extol the costliness of their prizes, and the stateliness of their

coursing horses : but, in my humble opinion, what I am a describing, may claim a right to the pre-eminence. Yet, if what has been hitherto said, cannot sufficiently evince the truth of this point, I shall endeavour to drive out one foaming bull ; that, by seeing the result of such an enterprise, your curiosity may receive the greater satisfaction.

We told you, that the bull was shut up in a large room ; therefore the person, whose undaunted courage or boldness sets him a work to encounter with this raging creature, stands to his posture at the door of the said house, with a long and sharp-pointed lance in his hand, having one of his knees set to the ground. Immediately after the sound of a trumpet, a constable runs with all possible speed, and sets the door of the room, where the furious animal is inclosed, wide open. Way being thus made, and all persons attentively looking on, the man is, by-and-by, assaulted with great violence ; which onset, if by dexterity, or good luck, he can evade, there is a fair occasion presented him, for killing or wounding the bull to purpose ; which if he miss to do, his life or members are in jeopardy. It is a thirsting desire after some imaginary honour, that sets such bold fellows upon the exposing of themselves to those dangerous circumstances, rather than the advantage of getting the beasts which they have killed, or wounded to purpose.

That the next bull may be rendered the more furious, they set up a quantity of wool, in figure representing a man, with a considerable weight at his legs ; which while the beast pusheth in a most formidable manner, the weight keeps it in a straight position, by which means the bull is wonderfully enraged. Sometimes a very despicable peasant is set upon a lean deformed horse, and exposed very often to a violent death, because of his antagonist's strength and rage. For dragging out the bulls once killed, six mules of divers colours are appointed, which, by the conduct of four

men, accomplish this work with all possible velocity and artifice. Six foot-men are ordained to encounter with the four beasts yet remaining, to whom no other weapon is granted, but a dagger with some few rexones in a bag, which in length exceed not six or seven inches ; having hafts well ordered with bunches of garlands, and points exceeding sharp, for the more ready carrying on of the intendment. Such as be thus stated, are commonly most dextrous, whom it behoves to fight with the bull face to face : he who doth otherwise, will undoubtedly incur the risk of imprisonment, with most abashing reproaches, and the loss of a considerable prize. Some men are so nimble, that by a gentle motion they can easily evade the bull's fury, and attain their design. Thus matters go on until such time as the trumpet sounds : then butchers-dogs, and men armed with broad swords, quickly dispatch the strength and violence of those formidable animals.

Some years ago, I remember, upon an occasion of this kind, to have seen a thing admirable indeed, *viz.* A young man of twenty years, encountering with a big bull, escaped all his comminations by the nimble and dextrous motion of his leg ; afterwards he did spring upon his back, and catching hold of his left horn, wounded him in several places with the rexones ; in which posture he continued until the trumpet was about to sound : then, and not till then, he dispatched the foaming bull with his dagger, having sustained no prejudice imaginable. All persons present were possessed with a wonderful opinion of the youth, because of his surpassing agility, courage, dexterity, and boldness. But seeing this example is remarkable, we shall insist on it at greater length hereafter.

It will not be amiss here to mention what fell out, upon such an occasion as this, in the presence of Charles the First, of blessed memory :* who, while prince of

* James Howell, in a letter to Viscount Colchester, dated from Madrid, Aug. 16, 1623, speaks of this entertainment as follows : " There was a great

Wales, repaired to the court of Spain, whether to be married to the Infanta, or upon what other design, I cannot well determine. However all comedies, plays, and festivals, (this of the bulls at Madrid being included,) were appointed to be as decently and magnificently gone about, as possible ; for the more sumptuous and stately entertainment of such a splendid prince. Therefore, after the three bulls had been killed, and the fourth a-coming forth, there appeared four gentlemen in good equipage ; not long after a brisk lady, in a most gorgeous apparel, attended with persons of quality, and some three or four grooms, walked all along the square a-foot. Astonishment seized upon the beholders, that one of the female sex could assume the unheard boldness of exposing herself to the violence of the most furious beast yet seen ; which had overcome, yea almost killed, two men of great strength, courage, and dexterity. Incontinently the bull rushed towards the corner where the lady and her attendants stood : she, after all had fled, drew forth her dagger very unconcernedly, and thrust it most dextrously into the bull's neck, having caught hold of his horn ; by which stroke, without any more trouble, her design was brought to perfection : after which, turning about towards the king's balcony, she made her obeisance, and withdrew herself in suitable state and gravity. Sir, did you ever see, or hear, any example to parallel this ? Wonderful indeed ! that a faint-hearted feeble woman, one would think, should stand in the fields undauntedly after her attendants had quickly made their escape ; yea, and have overcome such a furious creature as that

show lately here of baiting of bulls with men for the entertainment of the prince. It is the chiefest of all the Spanish sports ; commonly there are men killed at it, therefore there are priests appointed to be there, ready to confess them. It hath happened oftentimes, that a bull hath taken up two men upon his horns, with their guts dangling about them. The horsemen run with lances and swords, the foot with goads. As I am told, the pope hath sent divers *bulls* against this sport of bulling ; yet it will not be left, the nation hath taken such an habitual delight in it." Familiar Letters, p. 140, edit. 1737.

bull was. This being a matter of fact, which I thus branch forth into divers circumstances ; I hope my fate shall not be so bad, as to be called a liar. Nevertheless, in regard that I judge you one of my best friends, I will not conceal the mystery of the matter from you. This person was a man, though in the habit of a woman, of great experience, agility, and resolution, who had been well inured to this hard labour at several other occasions, whom they appointed to be disguised so much the rather, that the prince of Wales might be the more taken with the thing.—But, not insisting further on this, I shall proceed to the remaining part of my relation, with all brevity and perspicuity possible.

Noblemen of singular magnanimity, being mounted on horses, incomparably nimble and pretty, with costly harness beseeeming the dignity of their riders, and the splendour of the festival, appear in great state and pomp : whose grooms in a most decent manner carry the lances, with which their masters intend to dispatch the bulls. Their province and charge is to irritate the rage and fury of the formidable beast. Those heroic minds, managing their lances most dextrously, accomplish their noble purposes, very often by killing or wounding the foaming animals : which if they fail to do, then the horses sustain great prejudice ; insomuch, that their riders are dismounted, whom it behoves, in that case, to encounter with the bulls on foot, lashing them with broad-swords ; which, if any decline to do, he is baffled, and branded with the character of pusillanimity and cowardice. You may easily imagine, that generous spirits will prefer death to such an ignominy and reproach. Thus, three or four persons of quality continue, until it be pretty late ; at which time they drive out a bull, covered all over with artificial fire, by which he is rendered most furious and hurtful. For curiosity, and want of further order, induces the rabble to approach so near unto him, that, by his most dreadful pushings, many sustain mutilation, yea, and death

itself ; insomuch that a tragedy is oftentimes the conclusion of this solemnity.

We have now impartially described what is considerable in the yearly festival at Madrid. I grant, indeed, that it is a recreation scarcely beseeeming Christians, whose meekness and gentleness should not admit of such barbarous diversions : nevertheless, to speak no more of that, it is generally concluded, that persons, appointed for such an exercise, ought to be furnished, not only with suitable courage, but also with agility and dexterity, to evade the assaults of a violent brute ; by which means many become famous.

Here we may observe, how much the Roman plays come short of this game : for criminals were there compelled to grapple with boars and lions, most truculent creatures, of which few can promise themselves the victory ; and thus poor convicted pannals suffered a most cruel death. To which it may be added, that those games were chiefly designed to satisfy the bloody and vindictive humours of the people, who rejoiced in such lamentable experiments. It is otherwise here, in regard that no man is constrained to undergo this hard labour ; neither are criminals punished with such a death ; but masculine and noble minds desire an occasion of this kind, whereby proof may be given of their agility, and undaunted courage. However, it is not my work to praise or condemn this most ancient and uncontrolled custom. All I aimed at was, to satisfy your commendable curiosity, by describing this festival, which is judged in Spain a most noble recreation.

XXIX

THE CAMPDEN MYSTERY

THAT readers may the better judge for themselves regarding one of the most amazing crime mysteries of all time, the following pamphlet is reprinted unabridged.* John Paget, in "Paradoxes and Puzzles," gives only a *résumé* of the story ; as does Andrew Lang in "Historical Mysteries." Lang's version is also coloured throughout by an hypothesis he held as to a possible solution of the mystery. I shall refer to this later when "summing up" and offering my own surmises.

A true and perfect Account &c. . . . sent in a Letter (by Sir T. O.† of Burton, in the County of Gloucester, Knight, and one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace) to T. S. Doctor of Physick in London. . . . London, printed for Rowland Reynolds, next Arundel-gate, over-against St. Clement's Church in the Strand, 1676. Quarto ; containing Twenty-three Pages.

UPON Thursday, the sixteenth day of August, 1660, William Harrison, steward to the Lady Viscountess Campden, at Campden in Gloucestershire, being about seventy years of age, walked from Campden aforesaid, to Charringworth (about two miles from thence) to receive his lady's rent ; and, not returning so early as formerly, his wife, Mrs. Harrison, between eight and nine of the clock that evening, sent her servant, John Perry, to meet his master on the way from Charring-

* Except for the descriptive title-page, which merely condenses the facts, and, if reprinted at the outset in full, would detract from the story's interest.

† Sir Thomas Overbury, nephew to his namesake of the famous poisoning case in the reign of James I. The T. S. which follows was Thomas Shirley. These names are given in Hargrave's "State Trials," 1769.

worth ; but neither Mr. Harrison, nor his servant John Perry, returning that night, the next morning early Edward Harrison (William's son) went towards Charringworth to enquire after his father ; when, on the way, meeting Perry coming thence, and being informed by him he was not there, they went together to Ebrington, a village between Charringworth and Campden, where they were told, by one Daniel, that Mr. Harrison called at his house the evening before, in his return from Charringworth, but staid not : they then went to Paxford, about half a mile thence ; where, hearing nothing of Mr. Harrison, they returned towards Campden ; and on the way, hearing of a hat, band, and comb, taken up in the highway, between Ebrington and Campden, by a poor woman then leeing * in the field, they sought her out ; with whom they found the hat, band, and comb, which they knew to be Mr. Harrison's ; and being brought by the woman to the place where she found the same, in the highway, between Ebrington and Campden, near unto a great furze-brake, they there searched for Mr. Harrison, supposing he had been murdered, (the hat and comb being hacked and cut, and the band bloody,) but nothing more could be there found. The news hereof coming to Campden, so alarmed the town, that men, women, and children hastened thence, in multitudes, to search for Mr. Harrison's supposed dead body, but all in vain.

Mrs. Harrison's fears for her husband, being great, were now much increased ; and having sent her servant Perry the evening before to meet his master, and he not returning that night, caused a suspicion that he had robbed and murdered him ; and thereupon the said Perry was, the next day, brought before a justice of peace, by whom being examined concerning his master's absence, and his own staying out the night he went to meet him, he gave this account of himself : That his mistress sending him to meet his master,

* Gleaning.

between eight and nine of the clock in the evening, he went down Campden-field, towards Charringworth, about a land's length, where meeting one William Reed of Campden, he acquainted him with his errand ; and further told him, that, it growing dark, he was afraid to go forwards, and would therefore return and fetch his young master's horse, and return with him ; he did to Mr. Harrison's court-gate, where they parted, and he staid still : one Pierce coming by, he went again with him about a bow's shot into the fields, and returned with him likewise to his master's gate, where they also parted ; and then he (the said John Perry) saith, he went into his master's hen-roost, where he lay about an hour, but slept not ; and, when the clock struck twelve, rose and went towards Charringworth, till, a great mist arising, he lost his way, and so lay the rest of the night under a hedge ; and, at day-break, on Friday morning, went to Charringworth, where he enquired for his master of one Edward Plaisterer, who told him, he had been with him the afternoon before, and received three-and-twenty pounds of him, but staid not long with him : he then went to William Curtis of the same town, who likewise told him, he heard his master was at his house the day before, but being not at home, did not see him : after which he saith, he returned homewards, (it being about five of the clock in the morning,) when, on the way, he met his master's son, with whom he went to Ebrington and Paxford, &c. as hath been related.

Read, Pearce, Plaisterer, and Curtis, being examined, affirmed what Perry had said, concerning them, to be true.

Perry being asked by the justice of peace, " How he, who was afraid to go to Charringworth at nine of the clock, became so bold as to go thither at twelve ? " answered, " That at nine of the clock it was dark, but at twelve the moon shone."

Being further asked, " Why, returning twice home,

after his mistress had sent him to meet his master, and staying till twelve of the clock, he went not into the house to know whether his master were come home, before he went a third time, at that time of night, to look after him ? ” answered, “ That he knew his master was not come home, because he saw light in his chamber-window, which never used to be there so late when he was at home.”

Yet notwithstanding this, that Perry had said for his staying forth that night, it was not thought fit to discharge him till further enquiry were made after Mr. Harrison, and accordingly he continued in custody at Campden ; sometimes in an inn there, and sometimes in the common prison, from Saturday, August the eighteenth, unto the Friday following ; during which time he was again examined at Campden, by the afore-said justice of peace, but confessed nothing more than before ; nor, at that time, could any further discovery be made what was become of Mr. Harrison. But it hath been said, that during his restraint at Campden, he told some, who pressed him to confess what he knew concerning his master, that “ a tinker had killed him ; ” and to others he said, “ a gentleman’s servant of the neighbourhood had robbed and murdered him ; ” and others again he told, “ That he was murdered, and hid in a bean-rick in Campden ; ” where search was in vain made for him. At length he gave out, “ that were he again carried before the justice, he would discover that to him he would discover to nobody else.” And thereupon he was, Friday, August the twenty-fourth, again brought before the justice of peace, who first examined him, and asking him whether he would yet confess what was become of his master ; he answered, “ He was murdered, but not by him.” The justice of peace then telling him, that if he knew him to be murdered, he knew likewise by whom he was ; so he acknowledged he did : and, being urged to confess what he knew concerning it, affirmed, “ that it was his

mother and his brother that had murdered his master.” The justice of peace then advised him to consider what he said, telling him, that he feared he might be guilty of his master’s death, and that he should not draw more innocent blood upon his head ; for what he now charged his mother and his brother with, might cost them their lives : but he affirming he spoke nothing but the truth, and that if he were immediately to die, he would justify it ; the justice desired him to declare how and when they did it.

He then told him, that his mother and his brother had lain at him, ever since he came into his master’s service, to help them to money ; telling him, how poor they were, and that it was in his power to relieve them, by giving them notice when his master went to receive his lady’s rents ; for they would then way-lay and rob him : and further said, That upon the Thursday morning his master went to Charringworth, going of an errand into the town, he met his brother in the street, whom he then told whither his master was going, and if he way-laid him, he might have his money : and further said, That in the evening his mistress sent him to meet his master, he met his brother in the street, before his master’s gate, going, as he said, to meet his master ; and so they went together to the churchyard about a stone’s-throw from Mr. Harrison’s gate, where they parted ; he going the foot-way, cross the churchyard, and his brother keeping the great road, round the church ; but in the highway, beyond the church, met again, and so went together, the way leading to Charringworth, till they came to a gate about a bow’s-shot from Campden church, that goes into a ground of the Lady Campden’s, called the Conygree, (which to those, who have a key to go through the garden, is the next way from that place to Mr. Harrison’s house :) when they came near unto that gate, he (the said John Perry) saith, he told his brother he did believe his master was just gone into the Conygree, (for it was then so dark

they could not discern any man, so as to know him,) but perceiving one to go into that ground, and knowing there was no way, but for those who had a key, through the gardens, concluded it was his master ; and so told his brother, if he followed him, he might have his money ; and he, in the mean time, would walk a turn in the fields, which accordingly he did : and then, following his brother about the middle of the Conygree, found his master on the ground, his brother upon him, and his mother standing by ; and being asked, “ Whether his master was then dead ? ” answered, “ No, for that, after he came to them, his master cried, ‘ Ah rogues, will you kill me ? ’ At which he told his brother, he hoped he would not kill his master ; who replied, ‘ Peace, peace, you’re a fool,’ and so strangled him : which having done, he took a bag of money out of his pocket, and threw it into his mother’s-lap, and then he and his brother carried his master’s dead body into the garden, adjoining to the Conygree, where they consulted what to do with it ; and, at length, agreed to throw it into the great sink, by Wallington’s mill, behind the garden ; but said, his mother and brother bade him go up to the court, next the house, to hearken whether any one was stirring, and they would throw the body into the sink.” And being asked whether it were there ? he said, “ He knew not, for that he left it in the garden ; but his mother and brother said they would throw it there, and if it were not there, he knew not where it was ; for that he returned no more to them, but went into the court-gate, which goes into the town, where he met with John Pearce, with whom he went into the field, and again returned with him to his master’s gate ; after which, he went into the hen-roost, where he lay till twelve of the clock that night, but slept not : and having, when he came from his mother and brother, brought with him his master’s hat, band, and comb, which he laid in the hen-roost, he carried the said hat, band, and comb, and threw

them, after he had given them three or four cuts with his knife, in the highway, where they were after found." And being asked, "What he intended by so doing?" said, "He did it, that it might be believed his master had been there robbed and murdered; and, having thus disposed of his hat, band, and comb, he went towards Charringworth," &c. as hath been related.

Upon this confession and accusation, the justice of peace gave order for the apprehending of Joan and Richard Perry, the mother and brother of John Perry, and for searching the sink where Mr. Harrison's body was said to be thrown, which was accordingly done, but nothing of him could be there found; the fish-pools likewise, in Campden, were drawn and searched, but nothing could be there found neither; so that some were of opinion, the body might be hid in the ruins of Campden-house (burnt in the late wars, and not unfit for such a concealment), where was likewise search made, but all in vain.

Saturday, August the twenty-fifth, Joan and Richard Perry, together with John Perry, were brought before the justice of peace, who acquainting the said Joan and Richard with what John had laid to their charge, they denied all, with many imprecations on themselves, if they were in the least guilty of any thing, of which they were accused. But John, on the other side, affirmed, to their faces, "that he had spoken nothing but the truth, and that they had murdered his master;" further telling them, "that he could never be at quiet for them, since he came into his master's service, being continually followed by them, to help them to money, which they told him he might do, by giving them notice when his master went to receive his lady's rents; and that he, meeting his brother Richard in Campden town, the Thursday morning his master went to Charringworth, told him whither he was going, and upon what errand." Richard confessed he met his brother

that morning, and spoke with him, but nothing passed between them to that purpose ; and both he and his mother told John he was a villain to accuse them wrongfully, as he had done : but John, on the other side, affirmed, “ that he had spoken nothing but the truth, and would justify it to his death.”

One remarkable circumstance happened in these prisoners’ return from the justice of peace’s house to Campden, viz. Richard Perry, following a good distance behind his brother John, pulling a clout out of his pocket, dropped a ball of inkle, which one of his guard taking up, he desired him to restore, saying, “ It was only his wife’s hair-lace : ” but the party opening of it, and finding a slip-knot at the end, went and shewed it unto John, who was then a good distance before, and knew nothing of the dropping and taking up of this inkle ; but being shewed it, and asked, whether he knew it, shook his head and said, “ Yea, to his sorrow ; for that was the string his brother strangled his master with.” This was sworn upon the evidence at the trial.

The morrow being the Lord’s-day, they remained at Campden, where the minister of the place designing to speak to them, (if possible to persuade them to repentance, and a further confession,) they were brought to church ; and in their way thither, passing by Richard’s house, two of his children meeting him, he took the lesser in his arms, leading the other in his hand ; when, on a sudden, both their noses fell a-bleeding, which was looked upon as ominous.

Here it will be no impertinent digression, to tell how the year before Mr. Harrison had his house broken open, between eleven and twelve of the clock at noon, upon Campden market-day, whilst himself and his whole family were at the lecture ; a ladder being set up to a window of the second story, and an iron-bar wrenched thence with a ploughshare, which was left in the room, and seven-score pounds in money carried

away ; the authors of which robbery could never be found.

After this, and not many weeks before Mr. Harrison's absence, his servant Perry, one evening, in Campden-garden made an hideous outcry ; whereat, some who heard it, coming in, met him running, and seemingly frightened, with a sheep-pick in his hand, to whom he told a formal story, how he had been set upon by two men in white, with naked swords, and how he defended himself with his sheep-pick ; the handle whereof was cut in two or three places, and likewise a key in his pocket, which he said, was done with one of their swords.

These passages the justice of peace having before heard, and calling to mind, upon Perry's confession, asked him first concerning the robbery, when his master lost seven-score pounds out of his house, at noon-day : Whether he knew who did it ? Who answered, " Yes, it was his brother." And being further asked, Whether he were then with him ? He answered, " No, he was then at church ; but that he gave him notice of the money, and told him in which room it was, and where he might have a ladder that would reach the window ; and that his brother after told him he had the money, and had buried it in his garden ; and that they were, at Michaelmas next, to have divided it : " whereupon, search was made in the garden, but no money could be there found.

And being further asked concerning that other passage of his being assaulted in the garden ; he confessed it was all a fiction, and that, having a design to rob his master, he did it, that rogues being believed to haunt the place, when his master was robbed, they might be thought to have done it.

At the next assizes, which were held in September following, John, Joan, and Richard Perry, had two indictments found against them ; one for breaking into William Harrison's house, and robbing him of one-

hundred and forty pounds, in the year 1659 ; the other for robbing and murdering of the said William Harrison, the sixteenth day of August, 1660. Upon the last indictment, the then judge of assizes, Sir C. T. would not try them, because the body was not found ; but they were then tried upon the other indictment for robbery, to which they pleaded, " Not guilty ; " but, some whispering behind them, they soon after pleaded " Guilty," humbly begging the benefit of his Majesty's gracious pardon, and Act of Oblivion, which was granted them.

But though they pleaded guilty to this indictment, being thereunto prompted, as is probable, by some who were unwilling to lose time, and trouble the court with their trial, in regard the Act of Oblivion pardoned them ; yet they all afterwards, and at their deaths, denied that they were guilty of that robbery, or that they knew who did it.

Yet at this assize, as several credible persons have affirmed, John Perry still persisted in his story, that his mother and brother had murdered his master ; and further added, that they had attempted to poison him in the jail, so that he durst neither eat nor drink with them.

At the next assizes, which were the spring following, John, Joan, and Richard Perry, were, by the then judge of assize, Sir B. H. tried upon the indictment of murder, and pleaded thereunto, severally, " Not guilty ; " and, when John's confession, before the justice, was proved, *vivâ voce*, by several witnesses who heard the same ; he told them, he was then mad, and knew not what he said.

The other two, Richard and Joan Perry, said they were wholly innocent of what they were accused, and that they knew nothing of Mr. Harrison's death, nor what was become of him ; and Richard said, that his brother had accused others, as well as him, to have murdered his master ; which the judge bidding him prove, he said, that most of those, that had given evi-

dence against him, knew it ; but, naming none, not any spoke to it, and so the jury found them all three *guilty*.

Some few days after, being brought to the place of their execution, which was on Broadway-hill, in sight of Campden ; the mother (being reputed a witch, and to have so bewitched her sons, they could confess nothing, while she lived) was first executed ; after which, Richard, being upon the ladder, professed, as he had done all along, " that he was wholly innocent of the fact for which he was then to die, and that he knew nothing of Mr. Harrison's death, nor what was become of him ; " and did, with great earnestness, beg and beseech his brother, " for the satisfaction of the whole world, and his own conscience, to declare what he knew concerning him : " but he, with a dogged and surly carriage, told the people, " he was not obliged to confess to them ; " yet, immediately before his death, said he knew nothing of his master's death, nor what was become of him, but they might hereafter possibly hear.

Now may be recorded the astounding fact that Harrison had not been murdered at all ; as appears from the following letter sent to Overbury by him after his return nearly two years later. The date of the letter would help us somewhat, but unfortunately it is not available. Harrison being seventy-two or seventy-three on his return, it was, however, probably written nearer that time than the date of the pamphlet, 1676, sixteen years after the supposed murder. This point, in its relation to a theory to be offered later, is not unimportant. Meanwhile, what is to be made of Perry ? He was mad, he said, on August 24th, when he accused his mother and brother ; and mad indeed he must have been. But there is at least some glimmer of method in his madness. He probably owed his family a grudge ; there are also indications in his evidence that, not

realising what it meant to be an accessory to the fact he hoped himself to escape hanging. We may also ask how a crazy man could convince a judge and jury. They were certainly to some extent unbalanced by the mother's being reputed a witch. As amazing as anything else in the case, no body having been discovered, is the illegality of the hangings. It is furthermore just possible that Perry had some inkling, or even full knowledge, of the reasons for his master's disappearance and knew more than he chose to tell. His reason for not inquiring if Harrison had returned home on the night of August 16th is suspicious, as, too, are his last words, "they might hereafter possibly hear" what had become of him. But let us next proceed to Harrison's letter.

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For Sir T. O. Knight.

HONOURED SIR ;

IN obedience to your commands, I give you this true account of my being carried away beyond the seas, my continuance there, and return home. On a Thursday in the afternoon, in the time of harvest, I went to Charingworth, to demand rents due to my Lady Campden ; at which time the tenants were busy in the fields, and late before they came home, which occasioned my stay there till the close of the evening. I expected a considerable sum, but received only three-and-twenty pounds, and no more. In my return home, in the narrow passage amongst Ebrington furzes, there met me one horseman, and said, "Art thou there ?" And I, fearing that he would have rid over me, struck his horse over the nose ; whereupon he struck at me with his sword, several blows, and run it into my side, while I, with my little cane, made my defence as well as I could ; at last, another came behind me, run me into the thigh, laid hold on the collar of my doublet, and drew me to a hedge, near to the place ; then came in

another : they did not take my money, but mounted me behind one of them, drew my arms about his middle, and fastened my wrists together with something that had a spring-lock, as I conceived, by hearing it give a snap as they put it on ; then they threw a great cloak over me, and carried me away. In the night they alighted at a hay-rick, which stood near to a stone-pit by a wall-side, where they took away my money : about two hours before day, as I heard one of them tell the other he thought it to be then, they tumbled me into the stone-pit ; they staid, as I thought, about an hour at the hay-rick, when they took horse again : one of them bade me come out of the pit, I answered, “ they had my money already, and asked what they would do with me ; ” whereupon he struck me again, drew me out, and put a great quantity of money into my pockets, and mounted me again after the same manner ; and on the Friday, about sun-setting, they brought me to a lone house upon a heath, by a thicket of bushes, where they took me down almost dead, being sorely bruised with the carriage of the money. When the woman of the house saw that I could neither stand nor speak, she asked them, “ Whether or no they had brought a dead man ? ” They answered, “ No, but a friend that was hurt, and they were carrying him to a surgeon ; ” she answered, “ If they did not make haste, their friend would be dead before they could bring him to one.” There they laid me on cushions, and suffered none to come into the room but a little girl ; there we staid all night, they giving me some broth and strong-waters. In the morning, very early, they mounted me as before, and on Saturday night they brought me to a place where were two or three houses, in one of which I lay all night, on cushions, by their bed-side. On Sunday morning they carried me from thence, and, about three or four o’clock, they brought me to a place by the sea-side, called Deal, where they laid me down on the ground ; and, one of them staying by me, the other

two walked a little off, to meet a man with whom they talked ; and, in their discourse, I heard them mention seven pounds ; after which they went away together, and about half an hour after returned. The man (whose name, as I have heard, was Wrenshaw) said, he feared I would die before he could get me on board : then presently they put me into a boat, and carried me on ship-board, where my wounds were dressed. I remained in the ship, as near as I could reckon, about six weeks ; in which time I was indifferently recovered of my wounds and weakness. Then the master of the ship came and told me, and the rest who were in the same condition, that he discovered three Turkish ships ; we all offered to fight in the defence of the ship and ourselves ; but he commanded us to keep close, and said “ He would deal with them well enough.” A little while after he called us up, and when we came on the deck, we saw two Turkish ships close by us ; into one of them we were put, and placed in a dark hole, where how long we continued, before we landed, I know not. When we were landed, they led us two days’ journey, and put us into a great house or prison, where we remained four days and a half ; and then came to us eight men to view us, who seemed to be officers : they called us, and examined us of our trades and callings, which every one answered ; one said he was a surgeon, another that he was a broad-cloth weaver, and I (after two or three demands) said I had some skill in physick. We three were set by, and taken by three of those eight men that came to view us. It was my chance to be chosen by a grave physician of eighty-seven years of age, who lived near to Smyrna, who had formerly been in England, and knew Crowland in Lincolnshire, which he preferred before all other places in England. He employed me to keep his still-house, and gave me a silver bowl, double gilt, to drink in ; my business was most in that place ; but once he set me to gather cotton-wool, which I not

doing to his mind, he struck me down to the ground, and after drew his stiletto to stab me, but I holding up my hands to him, he gave a stamp, and turned from me ; for which I render thanks to my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who staid his hand, and preserved me. I was there about a year and three-quarters, and then my master fell sick, on a Thursday, and sent for me ; and, calling me, as he used, by the name of Boll, told me he should die, and bade me shift for myself. He died on Saturday following, and I presently hastened with my bowl to a port, almost a day's journey distant ; the way to which place I knew, having been twice there employed, by my master, about the carriage of his cotton-wool. When I came thither, I addressed myself to two men, who came out of a ship of Ham-borough, which, as they said, was bound for Portugal within three or four days. I enquired of them for an English ship ; they answered there was none. I entreated them to take me into their ship ; they answered they durst not, for fear of being discovered by the searchers, which might occasion the forfeiture, not only of their goods, but also of their lives. I was very importunate with them, but could not prevail ; they left me to wait on Providence, which at length brought another out of the same ship, to whom I made known my condition, craving his assistance for my transportation : he made me the like answer as the former, and was as stiff in his denial, till the sight of my bowl put him to a pause. He returned to the ship, and after half an hour's space, he came back again, accompanied with another seaman, and, for my bowl, undertook to transport me ; but told me, I must be contented to lie down in the keel, and endure much hardship ; which I was content to do, to gain my liberty : so they took me aboard, and placed me below in the vessel, in a very uneasy place, and obscured me with boards and other things, where I lay undiscovered, notwithstanding the strict search that was made in the

vessel ; my two chapmen, who had my bowl, honestly furnished me with victuals daily, until we arrived at Lisbon in Portugal ; where, as soon as the master had left the ship, and was gone into the city, they set me on shore moneyless to shift for myself. I knew not what course to take, but, as Providence led me, I went up into the city, and came into a fair street ; and being weary, I turned my back to a wall, and leaned upon my staff ; over-against me were four gentlemen discoursing together : after a while, one of them came to me, and spoke to me in a language that I understood not. I told him I was an Englishman, and understood not what he spoke : he answered me, in plain English, that he understood me, and was himself born near Wisbeech in Lincolnshire : then I related to him my sad condition, and he, taking compassion on me, took me with him, provided for me lodging and diet, and by his interest with a master of a ship bound for England, procured my passage : and bringing me on shipboard, he bestowed wine and strong-waters on me, and, at his return, gave me eight stivers, and recommended me to the care of the master of the ship, who landed me safe at Dover, from whence I made shift to get to London, where being furnished with necessaries, I came into the country.

Thus, honoured Sir, I have given you a true account of my great sufferings, and happy deliverance, by the mercy and goodness of God, my most gracious Father in Jesus Christ, my Saviour and Redeemer ; to whose name be ascribed all honour, praise, and glory. I conclude, and rest

Your Worship's,
in all dutiful respect,
WILLIAM HARRISON.

In the pamphlet is next a short letter from Overbury (evidently to Dr. Shirley), followed by a concluding statement by its editor (whoever he may have been, nor

can I find any record of him) in which the mystery is further complicated by doubts as to the genuineness of Harrison's story.

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SIR ;

IT has not been any forgetfulness in me, you have no sooner heard from me ; but my unhappy distemper seizing on my right hand, soon after my coming down into the country, so that till now I have been wholly deprived the use of it. I have herewith sent you a short narrative of that no less strange, than unhappy business, which some years since happened in my neighbourhood ; the truth of every particular whereof I am able to attest, and I think it may very well be reckoned amongst the most remarkable occurrences of this age. You may dispose of it as you please, and, in whatever else I can serve you, you may freely command me, as, Sir,

Your most affectionate Kinsman,

Burton, August 23,
1676.

and humble Servant,

THO. OVERBURY.

NOTE BY EDITOR OF THE PAMPHLET

Many question the truth of this account Mr. Harrison gives of himself, and his transportation, believing he was never out of England. But there is no question of Perry's telling a formal story to hang himself, his mother, and his brother : and since this, of which we are assured, is no less incredible than that of which we doubt ; it may induce us to suspend hard thoughts of Mr. Harrison, till time (the great discoverer of truth) shall bring to light this dark and mysterious business. That Mr. Harrison was absent from his habitation, employment, and relations, near two years, is certain ; and, if not carried away, (as he affirms) no probable reason can be given for his absence ; he living plentifully and happily in the service of that honourable family, to which he had been then related above fifty years, with the reputation of a just and faithful servant ;

and, having all his days been a man of sober life and conversation, cannot now reasonably be thought in his old age, so far to have misbehaved himself, as in such a manner voluntarily to have forsaken his wife, his children, and his stewardship, and to leave behind him, as he then did, a considerable sum of his lady's money in his house. We cannot, therefore, in reason of charity, but believe that Mr. Harrison was forcibly carried away ; but by whom, or by whose procurement, is the question. Those, who he affirms did it, he withal affirms never before to have seen ; and that he saw not his servant Perry, nor his mother, nor his brother, the evening he was carried away : that he was spirited, as some are said to have been, is no ways probable, in respect he was an old and infirm man, and taken from the most inland part of the nation ; and, if sold (as himself apprehends he was) for seven pounds, would not recompense the trouble and charge of his conveyance to the sea-side.

Some, therefore, have had hard thoughts of his eldest son, not knowing whom else to suspect ; and believe the hopes of the stewardship, which he afterwards (by the Lord Campden's favour) enjoyed, might induce him to contrive his father's removal ; and this they are the more confirmed in, from his misbehaviour in it : but, on the other side, it is hard to think the son should be knowing of his father's transportation ; and consequently, of these unhappy persons' innocency, as to the murder of him, and yet prosecute them to the death, as he did ; and, when condemned, should be the occasion of their being conveyed above twenty miles, to suffer near Campden, and to procure John Perry to be there hanged in chains, where he might daily see him ; and himself to stand at the foot of the ladder, when they were all executed, as likewise he did.

These considerations, as they make it improbable the son should be privy to his father's transportation ; so they render the whole matter the more dark and

mysterious ; which we must therefore leave unto Him who alone knoweth all things, in his due time to reveal and bring to light.

It must be agreed that here is a mystery with a vengeance ! Oldys, not doubting Harrison's story, is casually content to accept the suspicion as to the old man's son. " ' This almost incredible story," he says in No. 61 of his " Catalogue of Pamphlets " in Vol. X. of the Miscellany, " may be a warning-piece to judges and juries, in cases of life and death. That man-servant, John, seems to have been crazed ; so hung himself, with his mother and brother ; who both denied the murder to the last. And the transportation of old Mr. Harrison to Turkey, by the ruffians, seems to have been effected by the procurement of his eldest son ; who might expect they had left him dead ; as by their barbarous treatment they very nearly had ; so might persecute the innocent to death, to prevent discovery of the guilty. And this may rather be thought the case, in that, besides what effects his father left behind, he obtained his stewardship under the lady Campden, and was the more suspected for his misbehaviour in it."

Well ! it might have been the son's doing, but Oldys offers no evidence. His is merely a guess arising from the suspicion expressed by the pamphlet's mysterious editor. Andrew Lang, seizing on the other suspicion as to Harrison, rejects the abduction to Turkey altogether. His hypothesis is that " for some reason Harrison's presence at Campden was inconvenient to somebody. He had lived through most troubled times : he was a witness better out of the way. He may conceivably have held a secret that bore on the case of one of the Regicides ; or that affected private interests, for he was the trusted servant of a great family. He was therefore spirited away : a trail certainly false was laid. . . . He was probably never very far from Campden during the two or three years of his

disappearance. It was obviously made worth his while to tell his absurd story on his return and to accept the situation. . . . A motive for keeping Harrison out of the way is only hard to seek because we do not know the private history of his neighbours. Roundheads among them may have had excellent reasons, under the Restoration, for sequestering Harrison till the revenges of the Restoration were accomplished. . . .”

Now, that hypothesis, read alone, is impressive, but who carefully reads the whole of Lang's article must needs be in almost as much doubt as before. I think that on first reading the case he must have jumped to his conclusion and, on a closer study, seen only what might fit in with it. At any rate, the article reads very much like a piece of special pleading. He speaks of “the cool way in which Harrison's wife and son took his absence,” adding, “it is odd that Edward did not seek his father till the morning.” I do not see what more they could reasonably, or even lovingly, have done than to send Perry in search of him at nine. Perry, certainly a liar, was yet perhaps so far truthful in saying there was a light in the window and that a great mist arose after midnight; which at least suggests that the Harrisons may have been up late, hoping every moment for one or other, or both, of the two men to return, and with no hope of finding them. Again, commenting on Harrison's statement that a certain man's name “as I have heard, was Wrenshaw,” Lang sceptically asks “where?” Harrison might easily have heard the man's name on the ship. Yet again, “Is it likely,” he asks, “that highwaymen [Harrison doesn't say they were highwaymen] “would carry handcuffs which closed with a spring and a snap? The story is pure fiction and bad at that. Suppose that kidnapping, not robbery, was the motive (which would account for the handcuffs), what had any mortal man to gain by kidnapping, for the purpose of selling into slavery, a ‘gent’ of seventy years of age?”

Here he forgets his own hypothesis. If somebody wanted to get Harrison out of the way, might they not be as likely to abduct him abroad as keep him in the neighbourhood? According to the pamphlet's editor he was a man of excellent character, and therefore hardly likely to lend himself to a deception, particularly one involving his silence in the matter of the Perrys' hanging. That is very much against the hypothesis, nor is it in the least degree "obvious," as Lang goes on to say, that somebody made it worth Harrison's while to keep quiet and accept the situation.

But exhaustively to go into Lang's argument would necessitate more space than I can afford, to say nothing of the reprinting of his whole article. Enough here, that me at least it leaves as bewildered as ever. Interested readers must look it up and judge for themselves.* One further point, however, of some value should be made. It is curious that no one seems to have thought of inquiring for signs of Harrison's wounds. This, at first blush, is against him, but, on reflection, in his favour. Liars may be careless, but, if he was really lying, it was not necessary for him to detail his two separate woundings, nor was it likely to escape his mind that he might be examined later for signs of them.

Probing here, there and everywhere in vain for a solution of this mystery, the suspicion occurred to me that the whole thing might be an invention of some seventeenth century author. Incredible, wild and woolly as the suspicion may be, there are yet certain

* See also the 1745 and 1808-13 editions (Vols. III.) of the "Miscellany"; Hargrave's "State Trials" (Vol. X., where it appears as an appendix to "The Hertfordshire Murder"), 1769, and Cobbett's later edition (Vol. XIV., in an appendix to the "Trial of Captain Green"); Borrow's "Celebrated Trials"—though Borrow offers no comment; John Paget's "Paradoxes and Puzzles"; and Mr. John Masfield's "The Tragedy of Nan and other Plays," in which is included "The Campden Wonder" and "Mrs. Harrison." Mr. Masfield, for dramatic purposes, quite legitimately goes far from the facts and has nothing—as regards fact—of value to suggest. Paget is interesting only for his statement that, in 1874, the mystery was still talked of in Campden. Had the natives known more than could be gathered from the books mentioned before him, he would surely have referred to it.

elements in the case which lend to it. "Not only have I failed to trace the records of the Assize at which the Perrys were tried," says Lang in a note to his article, "but the newspapers of 1660 seem to contain no account of the trial (as they do in the case of the Drummer of Tedworth, 1663), and Miss E. M. Thompson, who kindly undertook the search, has not even found a ballad or broadside on the 'Campden Wonder' in the British Museum."

The Assize may have been at Gloucester. Mr. Arthur Machen (to whom I outlined the plot, and who, incidentally, strengthened my suspicion before I mentioned it to him, by observing that the story sounded "very much like an invention of that ingenious gentleman Mr. Daniel De Foe *") tells me that, in conversation once with Mr. John Masefield on the subject, the poet left him with the impression that the Gloucester Assize records had been burnt. Did ever a case present such difficulties? In the faint hope of more light, Mr. Masefield and the Gloucester authorities must be hunted for their views.

And that brings us to the versions in the two editions of "State Trials" and to "Celebrated Trials," none of which give the name of the Assizes. The fact that the case is reported in "State Trials" is no sure evidence of its genuineness. "We have received," says Hargrave, "several Narratives and Historical Accounts of Murder, which are not proper for this work; however, one of the most remarkable we shall give an account of." Why were they not proper for the work? It is possible that Hargrave himself may have been dubious. "It is strange," he goes on to say in italics, "that a Judge would order the Execution of three Persons for the supposed Murder of a Man whose Body was not found, or heard of at the Time of Trial, upon the Con-

* Mr. Machen, of course, was not to know offhand that, in 1676, the date of the pamphlet, De Foe was then but fifteen years of age. The point is that I am not alone in suspecting the story's authenticity.

fession of a Madman or an Enthusiaſt ! ” He was also perhaps buttressing himself behind authority of sorts, for his abridged version ends : “ This was licensed (to be printed) September 8, 1676, by Sir Roger L'Eſtrange.” *

Now I don't wish to fall into Lang's error, and over-value every fact that assists my hypothesis (if such it can be called ; and, in all fairness, his attempts to pierce the darkness, right or wrong as his main conclusion may be, are very helpful), but it is at least possible that L'Eſtrange was not concerned with the truth or fiction of the matter he licensed for printing. There are many pamphlets in the Miscellany which, purporting to record facts, are mere fiction.

Another point. Odd is the length of time between the supposed murder in 1660 and the date of the pamphlet's publication in 1676. Overbury explains his dilatoriness, but he too (on Lang's theory) may have had reason to keep mum so long. The sixteen years strengthens rather than weakens my suspicion.

But it is no more than that ! The probabilities seem to be that the affair actually happened. The mysterious editor's summing up reads true enough, but who can be sure one way or the other, or of anyone ? “ God made man upright but they have sought out many inventions.” I hope that at least I have been of some assistance to future fascinated sleuth-hounds. Let them hunt at Campden, Gloucester, the British Museum and elsewhere. Not yet is the “ due time ” when this amazing affair shall be “ revealed and brought to light.”

* Here, too, is the earliest record I have come across of the full names of the justices, Sir Christopher Turner and Sir Robert Hyde—the C.T. and B.H. of the narrative. The B.H. is either a Miscellany misprint or deliberately designed to hide the justice responsible for the illegality. Did Hargrave obtain these names from the original pamphlet or one of its various editions, or elsewhere ? His record reads like an abridgement of it.

XXX

THE FAMILY OF LOVE

A Description of the Sect called 'the Family of Love : ' With their common Place of Residence. Being discovered by one Mrs. Susanna Snow, of Pirford near Chertsey, in the County of Surrey, who was vainly led away for a Time, through their base Allurements, and at length fell mad ; till by a great Miracle shewn from God, she was delivered. ' O Israel, trust in the Lord ; for in the Lord there is Mercy, and with him is plenteous Redemption.' Psal. cxxx. London printed, 1641.

It was in the county of Surrey, at a village called Pirford, three miles from Chertsey, there dwelt a gentleman by name Snow, who had to his daughter a very beautiful and religious gentlewoman, who was not only a joy to the father, but also an exceeding joy to the mother ; she had not long gladdened the hearts of her parents with a virtuous and dutiful behaviour, when the devil, arch-enemy to mankind, sought to subvert and eradicate this well-planted virtue, and thus it happened.

This gentlewoman, Mrs. Susanna Snow, (for so was she called,) holding prattle with one of her father's men, one day began to question with him about the new sects of religion which now were so much talked of, enquiring what news he heard of any of them.

He answered, that it was his chance to be at a little village called Bagshot, not six miles from thence, where he heard of a company that had got residence there, and every day had a meeting in a private place, which was mistrusted to be about the sign of the Buck, and they called themselves, ' The Family of Love ; ' and most have a great suspicion that they came from London, and their number is about an hundred : but he told her

it was the talk of the whole country. This Mrs. Susanna heard with patience, and marked with diligence every particular ; she gave the servant but little answer, but she vowed in her heart to see the fashions of this sect. Well, night grew on, and to bed they went ; but she prevented the early sun in being up before her, so great a desire had this poor gentlewoman to thrust herself into danger. After she had broke her fast, and caused her man to set a side-saddle on a gelding, alone she took her journey, vowing not to return, till she had seen some of their behaviours which were of the Family of Love.

Thus she rode along undisturbed by meeting any passengers, till she came within half a mile of the village of Bagshot ; but then she saw at the least an hundred persons, men and women, crossing over the heath, bending their course towards a wood called Birchwood ; to them-wards she rides, and overtaking a sister which lagged behind the rest, she cried, ‘ Well overtaken, sister : ’ the sister of the family bid her welcome. ‘ Sister, (quoth Mrs. Susanna,) is your habitation here about Bagshot ? ’ The sister answered, ‘ That she sojourned in Bawwago. ’ ‘ Then (quoth she) sure you can resolve me one question, which is this, Do you know of any that came from London lately ; there were about the number of an hundred, I was of the company, but they came away unknown to me ; and I heard that they sojourn here about this coast. ’ The silly sister was not aware of her guile which she spoke, but answered her, ‘ That this was the company she meant sure. ’ Mrs. Susanna asked again, ‘ Are these of the family ? ’ She answered ‘ Yes. ’ Then Mrs. Susanna rode after, and overtook them, where this woman revealed the conference she had with Mrs. Susanna, and how that she thought her to be very zealously affected to the family : on these words, although she were unknown, yet she was entertained into their society, and went along with them.

Now you must understand that they have certain days, which are dedicated unto Saints as they call them, as to Ovid, who wrote the Art of Loving ; to Priapus, the first bawdy butcher that ever did stick pricks in flesh, and make it swell ; and to many others, which they used to spend in poetizing in the woods : thither they come, and after many pastimes there enacted, the poet desired them to sit down on the green, and then he began to speak most strong language, as this or the like, ‘ Let not us persuade ourselves, although that many would have us to believe it, that our great god Cupid is obcecated, for he penetrateth the intrails of the most magnanimous ; ’ after these or the like words, he recited part of a verse from Virgil’s Epigrams :—*Non stat bene mentula crassa.* Which to English I forbear, because it is obscene : on this he built his whole discourse, venting very strange obscene passages : after this was done, they go to dinner, where they had exceeding delicacies, and after this repast they provided to return. Now here you must note, that the poet, viewing this new sister of the family, was so mightily inflamed with her, that either he must enjoy or perish ; when they were walking home, therefore, he singled her out from the rest of the company, and spoke to her as follows :

‘ Fair sister, hard is that task, where I must die in silence, or else present unto you an unseemly suit ; but so irksome is death, and so pleasant the enjoyment of my wishes, that I rather desire to be counted unmannerly than not amorous to your beauteous self.’

With these and such like words he courted her, till at length time and opportunity both favoured him so much, that she played a maid’s part indeed ; she said Nay, and yet took it. This novice, having had his desire, conducted her to the company, and there left her among the rest of the sisters, where she staid for the space of a whole week, viewing their fashions,

as the manner of their prayers, of their preaching, of their christening and burying, with many more things which will be too long for this little pamphlet to bear.

Now when she had seen as she thought enough, she stole away from them, not ceasing to think of the wrong she had sustained, by her consenting to the lust of the poetical brother : well, discontented she passed the way till she came in the presence of her father ; he asked with very mild and loving terms, Where she had been ? She answered him, At her aunt's at Oakingham. With which answer her father was satisfied, but her mother was not, because she had sent thither before, to see if she had been there ; yet her mother could get no other answer from her, than that she had been there : but seeing that she was come home again, they questioned the matter no more where she had been. But she had not been at home long, when she began to delight to be by herself, and to make much of melancholy, taking delight in nothing, wherein she did heretofore. This her loving parents took notice of, but would not speak of it ; and thus she continued for the space of ten or fourteen days : at last, she began to be very untowardly, and they could not rule her, for she would break glasses and earthen-ware, and throw any thing at the heads of the servants, and incontinent she fell stark mad. I cannot express her father's grief, when he saw his only beloved daughter in this plight ; but I would leave you to judge of it who have children of your own, how it would grieve you to see your children in such a plight. Her father, although he were almost distracted with grief to see his child thus lie on the wreck of misfortune, summons up his senses together, and at length he thought upon one Mr. Ybder, a very honest man, and a most reverend divine, living in Oxford : to him he sent, requesting him of all loves that he would come, and visit him in this his great distress ; he presently dispatched horse and man, for

Oxford they were bound. The man coming to Mr. Ybder's chamber, which is in Magdalen Hall, he found him within, to whom he delivered his message. Master Ybder came along with him. He was no sooner arrived at Master Snow's house, but the poor gentleman almost frantic for his daughter's distemperature, with tears in his eyes, began and related, what you have here before read, to Master Ybder, who presently desired that he might but see her. This good old man, with all diligence, being still in hope of her recovery, conducted him into the chamber where his daughter was ; she had no sooner fixed her eyes upon them entering, but she shrieked out and cried, " The devil, the devil ; I am damned, I am damned, I am damned : " with many such like horrid horrible exclamations. Then stepped forwards Mr. Ybder, and told her that she was deceived ; God surely would not leave her soul so, if she would but endeavour as she had done heretofore, for said he, ' Christ came not into the world to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance ; ' and again, ' Seek and ye shall find, knock and it shall be opened unto thee ; and although thou hast played the harlot with many lovers, yet return again unto me, saith the Lord ; ' at the third chapter of Jeremy, and the first verse.

She hearkened unto Master Ybder very patiently, for the space of half an hour, but then she began to be very troublesome, and sometimes outrageous : at last, she called for some wine, for she was very thirsty, she said. Wine was brought unto her in a Venice-glass : her father, good old man, spoke to her to drink to Mr. Ybder, for he had taken great pains with her ; she looked very wildly on him, and threw the glass to the ground, with these words, " That it was as impossible for her to be saved, as for that glass to rebound into her hand unbroken," which, contrary to the expectation of all, this glass did. " Well, (said this gentlewoman,) I will yet trust in the Lord my Redeemer, for

he is merciful and long-suffering." With these words she praised God, and began, as from the beginning, to relate the case of her distemperature ; desiring Mr. Ybder, that he would pray with her, and for her : and thus, by the mercy of God, was this gentlewoman delivered.

XXXI

A CURE FOR THE SMALL-POX

THE "Method" which follows reminds me of some quaint cures for this, that and the other in that very interesting work, "The History of Fourfooted Beasts and Serpents," by Edward Topsel and Tho. Mouffet, 1658; a book well worth the few pounds it nowadays fetches in sale-rooms. "The right eye of a bear," says Topsel, "dried to powder, and hung about Childrens necks in a little bag, driveth away the terror of dreams, and both the eyes whole, bound to a man's left arm, easeth a quartain ague." He was more of a poet than a physician, I am glad to say, for he goes on to speak of bears' fat being "sovereign for the hair, compounded with wilde roses." His collaborator is no less agreeable in his remedies for stings, though they would hardly commend themselves to modern science. For wasps' stings he recommends "Owles blood with seeds of wilde Cucumbers bruised with wine"; and for scorpions' his many recipes comprise "Larks-heels, House Mice cut asunder" [first catch your mouse, as Mrs. Glasse of the cookery book might say], "Rams flesh burnt, Daffodil seed and flowers drank in wine and also Bramble flowers thus taken, a broiled Scorpion eaten, and River-crabs raw and bruised and drank with Asses milk."

*The Method of Curing the Small-Pox: first written in the Year 1704, for the Use of the Noble and Honourable Family of March, by Dr. Arch. Pitcairn.**

1. IF a child, or any person, grow sick, feverish, or has pain in the back, or slot of the breast, loss of appetite,

* Archibald Pitcairn, M.D., a Scotch physician and poet, of an ancient family at Fife, was born in Edinburgh, December 25, 1652. "He had his

drowsiness, short cough, sneezing, watery eyes, or some of these ; but always accompanied with some heat, and frequent pulse, or drought : in this case, blood is to be taken at the arm, or with loch-leeches ; and, if the fever ceases not, though the pox appear, let blood a second or third time. Meantime, give the child a spoonful of syrup of white poppeys at night, and in the night-time, even till sleep or ease comes.

2. After the pox appears, and fever is gone, then steep a handful of sheep's purles in a large mutchkin of carduus-water, or hyssop-water, or fountain-water, for five or six hours ; then pour it off without straining, and sweeten it with syrup of red poppeys. Give of this a spoonful or two, every fourth or fifth hour, to make the pox fill, and preserve the throat. Always at night-time and in the night, give a spoonful or two of the syrup of white poppeys for a cordial ; that keeps down the fever, and keeps up the pox.

3. If the pox run together in the face, (which is the only thing that brings hazard,) use the infusion of the purles, and the syrup of white poppeys, oftener than in other cases : also, about the eighth day from the appearing of the pox, or a little before that, give the child to drink of barley-water, sweetened with syrup of white poppeys ; this will make the child spit, which saves the child.

4. The child's drink may be milk and water at other times, or emulsion ; but use the first rather.

5. Apply nothing to the face.

Use no wine, or winish possets.

6. If any looseness comes before the fourth day of the eruption, stop it with syrup of poppeys, and five or seven drops of liquid laudanum, given now and then till it be stopped.

Let the child's diet be all along a thin bread-berry in

admirers " says Oldys ; " but so great an accession of knowledge in physick has accrued, since his day, that his scientific works are now but little attended to."

the morning, a weak broth, and soft bread for dinner, and milk and bread at night, or sugar-biscuit and milk ; and, about the fifth day from the eruption, give the child groat-broth sometimes.

Nota, If, at any time, the small-pox disappear, with a raving before the fifth, sixth, or eighth day from the eruption ; then let blood again, and apply a large blistering-plaister between the shoulders, and give an emulsion.

2. If the small-pox fall down, without raving, then apply a large blistering-plaister between the shoulders, and give an emulsion ; and boil in a gill of water, and as much white or red wine, half a dram or a dram of zedoary-root sliced, two figs, and two scruples of theriac or diascordium ; sweeten it with syrup of kermes and white poppeys, each half an ounce.

3. In the end of the disease, that is, about the tenth, eleventh, fourteenth, &c. day, after the eruption ; if the child's defluxion is gross, either apply a new vesicatory, or give often the spirit of hartshorn, in syrup of violets, or a vomitor.

Lastly ; When the pox is blackened sufficiently, or about the fourteenth day from the eruption, let the child drink whey, eat pottage, &c. or broth with prunes, unless the child's belly is open enough of itself.

But if the child is so young, or unlucky, as not to cough heartily, and force up the defluxion, or if the frost thickens it ; apply to the slot of his breast a poultice of theriac, diascordium, alkermes, oil of rosemary, and cinnamon with warm claret, in a double linen cloth often.

2. And to the throat apply, in a double linencloth, a poultice of cow's dung boiled with milk and soft white bread : put a little brandy to as much as you apply at a time.

3. For the defluxion also give inwardly some of this, which has a dram of sperma-ceti, well mixed in a glass

mortar (not a brass one) with fine sugar ; to which add at leisure syrup of violets, or balsamick, or poppey-syrup, with some spirit of hartshorn.

If the pox was confluent, or run together on the face, then, after the person is recovered, give a purgative, to bring away the remainder of the pox within the guts.

XXXII

CHARLES THE SECOND'S ESCAPE FROM WORCESTER

A true Narrative and Relation of his most sacred Majesty's miraculous Escape from Worcester, on the Third of September, 1651, till his Arrival at Paris. Printed at London, for G. Colborn, 1660.

FORTUNE had now twice counterfeited and double-gilt the trophies of rebellion, and its brazen trumpet repeated victory, betrayed, or prostituted, before at Dunbar, and now ravished at Worcester, by numerous overpowering force, on that black and white day, September the third, 1651 ; in the dusk of which fatal evening, when the ashamed sun had blushed in his setting, and plunged his affrighted head into the depth of luckless Severn, and the night, ready to stain and spot her guilty sables with loyal blood, was attiring herself for the tragedy : the King (whose first and conspicuous valorous essay so exceeded all comparison, that it cannot but oblige fate to preserve that matchless courage, and never again to venture, or expose it to any hazard) compelled to abandon the city of Worcester, whose fidelity and affection deserved perpetual memory : after he had quitted his court and lodgings, to which he retired from the field, and having rallied his most faithful and considerable friends, divers English lords and gentlemen, who were resolved to accompany him in his flight, was presented by the late renowned Earl of Darby, with one Charles Gifford, Esq. (a person of note, then of that country, and of much manifested honour since to the world) to be his Majesty's conductor in this miraculous blessed escape ; who forthwith called for one Francis Yates, whom he had brought with him, under the command of Colonel

Careless, in a party that met the King, in his advance to Worcester, to be guide-assistant, for the surer finding the by-ways for his Majesty's speed and safety.

In the mean time, Colonel Careless, a gentleman of very gallant and noble endowments, was commanded to sustain the brunt of the pursuing enemy, and to keep them off, while the King might be somewhat in his way ; which, with excellent prudence and valour, he did to effect, and afterwards fled to his old retreat and coverture, passing by Hartlebury-castle, then garrisoned by the enemy, whom he courageously fought with, and broke through, and came safe to his designed shelter.

Towards three o'clock, Thursday morning, the fourth of September, the King, in company with the said Earl of Darby, Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl of Cleveland, Duke of Buckingham, my Lord Wilmot, and others, to the number of fourscore, came to a place called White-Ladies, in the parish of Tong, in the confines of Stafford and Shropshire, being twenty-five miles distant, or thereabouts, from Worcester, which space of ground he had rid that night.

The White-Ladies was a house belonging to one Fitz-Herbert, where one George Pendrill, hearing somebody knocking at the gate so early, and opening the window, espied the aforesaid Francis Yates, who was his brother-in-law, with Mr. Gifford ; to whom he presently opened the door, and enquired of his brother Yates, what news from Worcester ; who told him, that the King was defeated, and in pursuit, and, therefore, bid him to make haste, and put on his clothes. But, before he could make himself ready, the King, with most of his lords, had entered the house, and come into the hall ; where, after a short consultation held amongst them, the Earl of Darby called for William Pendrill, the eldest brother ; (you must know, that my Lord of Darby had taken this place for a subterfuge, after the defeat given him by Colonel Lilburn, near Wigan, in

Lancashire, and was acquainted there, and by them conveyed to Worcester to the King ; as also, several other gentlemen before had used this for their sanctuary) ; who being come, George was sent to Tong, to one Robert Beard, an honest subject, to enquire of him, whether there were any scattered parties of the King's thereabouts, or any of the enemies appearing ; who brought word, that the coast was yet clear, and no parties at all to be seen. In his return, he met with his brother Richard : for now those few inhabitants, that lived there, were awakened with the noise, and their own ill-boding thoughts and fears of the success at Worcester.

Richard was no sooner come in, but Esquire Gifford called for him, and bid him make haste, and bring with him his best clothes, which were a jump and breeches, of green coarse cloth, and a doeskin leather doublet ; the hat was borrowed of Humphry Pendrill, the miller, being an old grey one, that turned up its brims ; the shirt (which, in that country-language, they called an hurden, or noggen-shirt, of cloth that is made of the coarsest of the hemp) was had of one Edward Martin, George Pendrill's band, and William Creswel's shoes ; which the King, having presently unstripped himself of his own clothes, did nimbly put on. His buff-coat, and linen-doublet, and a grey pair of breeches, which he wore before, he gave into these brothers' hands, who forthwith buried them under ground, where they lay five weeks, before they durst take them up again. The jewels, off his arm, he gave to one of the lords then departing.

Then Richard came with a pair of shears, and rounded the King's hair, which my Lord Wilmot having cut before with a knife, had untowardly notched ; and the King was pleased to take notice of Richard's good barbering, so as to prefer his work before my Lord Wilmot's, and gave him the praise of it ; and now his Majesty was *à-la-mode* the woodman.

Hereupon, William Pendrill was brought to the King by the Earl of Darby, and the care and preservation of his most sacred Majesty, committed to his charge, and the rest of the brothers, (my Lord would have staid too, but there was no undertaking security for them both,) and presently the lords took their heavy leave, and departed; every one shifting for himself. Only my Lord Wilmot was conveyed, by John Pendrill, to Mr. Thomas Whitgrave's; but he would have left him at several other places, which my Lord did in no wise approve of; first, at one John Shore's of Hungerhill, thence to John Climpson, thence to one Reynolds of the Hide, so to John Hunspatch's; where passing by Coven, they had notice of a troop of horse in the town, and seeing some men coming behind them (which proved to be friends, though my Lord suspected the country rising upon them,) they betook themselves into a dry pit, where they staid all evening, and then arrived safely at Mr. Whitgrave's.

The company being all departed, a wood-bill was brought, and put into the King's hand, and he went out with Richard into the adjoining woods. William departed home, and Humphry and George went out to scout, and lay hovering in the woods, to hear or see if any one approached that way. But the King had not been an hour in the wood, before a troop of horse, of the enemy's, came to White-Ladies, and enquired, if some of the King's horse, and himself, passed not that way; and if they could give any information of him? To which the town's-folks answered, that about three hours ago, there was a party of horse came thither, and they supposed the King with them, but they made no stay in the village, but presently departed; they were, hereupon, so eager in the pursuit, that, after enquiring which way they took, they followed the rout, and made no further search there; the King straight heard this, by the two aforesaid scouts, who straggled for intelligence into the town.

All this day, being Thursday, the King continued in the wood, upon the ground, Richard Pendrill being constantly with him, and sometimes the other two brothers. It proved to be a very rainy day, and the King was wet with showers; thereupon, Francis Yates's wife came into the wood, and brought the King a blanket, which she threw over his shoulders, to keep him dry; she also brought him his first meat he eat there, *viz.* a mess of milk, eggs, and sugar, in a black earthen-cup, which the King guessed to be milk and apples, and said he loved it very well. After he had drunk some of it, and eaten part in a pewter spoon, he gave the rest to George, and bid him eat it, for it was very good. There was nothing of moment passed this day in court, but only the King exchanged his wood-bill for Francis Yates's broom-hook, which was something lighter.

They had much ado, all that day, to teach and fashion his Majesty to their country-guise, and to order his steps, and straight body, to a lobbing Jobson's gait, and were forced, every foot, to mind him of it; for the language, his Majesty's most gracious converse with his people, in his journey to and at Worcester, had rendered it very easy, and very tuneable to him.

About five o'clock that evening, the King, with the retinue of Richard, Humphry, George, and Francis Yates, left the wood, and betook himself to Richard's house, where he went under the name of William Jones, a wood-cutter, newly come thither for work: against his coming, the good wife, for his entertainment at supper, was preparing a fricassee of bacon and eggs; and whilst that was doing, the King held on his knee their daughter Nan. After he had eat a little, he asked Richard to eat, who replied, "Yea, Sir, I will;" whereto his Majesty answered, "You have a better stomach than I, for you have eaten five times to-day already." After supper ended, the King, according to his resolution to pass into Wales, prepared, when it

should be dusky, to depart : before he went, Jane Pendrill, the mother of the five brethren, came to see the King, before whom she blessed God, that had so honoured her children, in making them the instruments, as she hoped, of his Majesty's safeguard and deliverance. Here Francis Yates offered the King thirty shillings in silver ; the King accepted ten, and bid him put the other up. Humphry would have gone before, to see and view about, but the King would not let him : it being now near night, they took their leave of the King upon their knees, beseeching God to guide and bless him.

So the King and Richard only departed, to go to one Mr. Francis Wolfe, of Madely, there to take passage into Wales. On the way, they were to pass by a mill, at a place called Evelin, and going over (it was about nine a clock at night) the bridge of the said mill, the miller steps forth, and demanded, " Who goes there ? " having a quarter-staff, or a good cudgel, in his hand ; to which Richard, being foremost, thought it not safe to reply ; but, the water being shallow, leaped off the bridge into it, and the King did the like, following Richard by the noise and rattling of his leather breeches ; the miller being glad he was so rid of them : for (as it afterwards appeared) here were some of the King's scattered soldiers in his mill, and he supposed the other to be Parliamentarians, that were upon the scent for his distressed guests.

Being come to Madely, to the said Mr. Francis Wolfe's, late that night, they understood there was no passage over the water into Wales, and that it was very dangerous to abide there, the country being, every where about, laid with soldiers ; nor durst he entertain them in his house, but shewed them a hay-mow, where they might lodge ; and there the King and Richard continued all that night, and the next day, being Friday ; and that night, with the conveyance of a maid of this Mr. Wolfe's, who brought the King two miles

on his way, they retreated back again to Richard's house : master Wolfe lent the King some small sum of money.

This design being crossed, Saturday morning (without any stay at Richard's) the King and he went to a house of Mrs. Giffard's, called Boscabel, where William Pendrill and his wife dwelt as housekeepers for the said Giffard, who received him joyfully : but the King's feet were so blistered, with travelling in such coarse and stiff accoutrements, as he wore on his feet, and lying in them, that he was scarce able to stand or go ; which William's wife perceiving, she stripped off his stockings, and cut the blisters, and washed his feet, and gave the King some ease.

The same time, or near thereupon, that noble Colonel Careless, who (as is said before) made good the King's rear at Worcester, and had fought his way through ; after he had been two days at one David Jones's, living in the Heath in Tong parish, and there by him secured, (for this Colonel had lain three quarters of a year before obscured in this country, when he had been narrowly, every where, searched after,) was brought, by one Elizabeth Burgess, to this same house of Boscabel ; and there his Majesty and he met : but the Colonel was so overjoyed with the sight of the King, his master, in such sure and safe hands, that he could not refrain weeping ; and the King was himself moved with the same passion.

After a short conference, and but inchoated counsel of the King's probablest means of escape, it was resolved by them, to betake themselves to the wood again ; and accordingly, about nine of the clock, that Saturday morning the sixth of September, they went into the wood, and Colonel Careless brought and led the King to that so much celebrated oak, where before he had himself been lodged. This tree is not hollow, but of a sound firm trunk, only about the middle of the body of it, there is a hole in it, about the bigness of a

man's head, from whence it absurdly and abusively (in respect of its deserved perpetual growth to out-last time itself) is called hollow ; and, by the help of William Pendrill's wood-ladder, they got up into the boughs and branches of the tree, which were very thick and well spread, full of leaves ; so that it was impossible for any one to discern through them.

When they were both up, William gave them up two pillows to lie upon between the thickest of the branches ; and the King being over-wearied with travel and his sore journey, began to be very sleepy : the Colonel, to accommodate him the best he could, desired his Majesty to lay his head in his lap, and rest the other parts of his body upon the pillow, which the King did ; and after he had taken a good nap, (William and his wife Joan still peaking up and down, and she commonly near the place, with a nut-hook in her hand gathering of sticks,) awaked very hungry, and wished he had something to eat ; whereupon, the Colonel plucked out of his pocket a good luncheon of bread and cheese, (which Joan Pendrill had given him for provant for that day, and had wrapped it up in a clean linen cloth,) of which the King fed very heartily, and was well pleased with the service, and commended highly his good cheer ; and some other small relief he had, which was put up in the tree, with a long hook-stick.

In the mean while, Richard Pendrill, the first esquire, was sent to Wolverhampton some three miles thence, being a market-town, to buy wine and biscuit, and some other necessary refreshments for the King ; and withal to speak with one Mr. George Manwaring (a person of known integrity and loyalty) from Colonel Careless, with some instructions about the King's removal, though not expressly the King, but one of that ruined party : in effect it was to know of him, whether he knew of any sure privacy for two such persons ; to which he answered, he had not himself, but

would enquire if a friend of his, one Mr. Whitgrave of Mosely, formerly and again to be spoken of here, could do it. So that we may see what a loyal honest combination and secrecy there was between all of these persons ; and then Richard returned with his wine, &c. to the King, who, towards the evening, came down by the same ladder from the tree, and was brought into the garden of Boscabel house, where he sat in the bower of it, and drank part of the wine till towards night.

Neither was Humphry Pendrill, the miller, unemployed all this while ; but was sent to get intelligence, how things went. And the easier to come by it, he was sent to a captain of the Rump, one Broadway, formerly a heel-maker, under pretence of carrying him twenty shillings, for the pay of a man in the new-raised militia of their county for their mistress. While he was there, in came a colonel of the Rebels, and asked for Captain Broadway, on purpose to know what further enquiry had been made at White-Ladies for the King ; relating to Broadway the story of it ; to which he replied he knew nothing of it further than rumour, but that there was one of that place in the house, that could give him an account of it. So Humphry was called, and several questions put to him, which he evaded, but confessed that the King had been there, as was supposed ; but there was no likelihood for him to stay there, for there were three families in the house, and all at difference with one another. The Colonel told him there was a thousand pounds offered to any, that would take or discover him ; and that they doubted not, but within a day or two to have him delivered into their hands.

These tidings Humphry brought with him, and omitted not to tell his Majesty of the price his rebels had set on him ; at the telling of which, the King looked something dismayed, as having trusted his life into the hands of so poor men, whom such a sum as that (though both detestable and of inconsiderable

value to the purchase) might pervert from their allegiance and fidelity ; which made Humphry to be exceedingly troubled for his rashness, while Colonel Careless assured the King, “ If it were one-hundred thousand pounds, it were to no more purpose, and that he would engage his soul for their truth ; ” which Humphry also, with many urgent asseverations, did second.

It was late, and the King was very hungry, and had a mind to a loin of mutton, and, being come into the house, asked William, if he could not get him such a joint ; to which he replied, that he had it not of his own, but he would make bold at that time, and for that occasion, with one of his master’s sheep in the cote ; which instantly he did, and brought it into the ground cellar, where the Colonel, not having the patience to stay while he fetched a knife, stabbed it with his dagger ; and when William came down, they hung it upon a door, and flayed it, and brought up a hind quarter to the King, who presently fell a chopping of the loin to pieces, or, as they called it then, into Scotch collops, which the Colonel clapped into the pan, while the King held it and fried it.

This passage yielded the King a pleasant, jocular discourse, after his arrival in France, when it amounted to a question, a very difficult case, who was cook, and who was scullion ? And the solution of the doubt, when it could not be decided by the lords then present, was referred to the judgment of his Majesty’s master-cook, who affirmed “ that the King was (*hic et nunc*) both of them.”

When this nimble collation was ended, it was time for the King to betake himself to his rest, and his chamberlain William brought him to his apartment. It was a place made between two walls on purpose for secrecy, contrived at the building of the house ; thither they let the King down, where he slept very incommodiously with little or no rest, for that the place was not long enough for him ; and therefore, the next

night, they laid him a sorry bed upon the staircase, that the meanness of his lodging might secure him from suspicion.

My Lord Wilmot, as is said before, was all this while safe at Mr. Whitgrave's; only his care of the King made him full of trouble. His hiding-place was so sure a one, that at his first coming to it, he wished, so he gave twenty-thousand pounds, that the King was either as secure, or there with him; he therefore dispatched away John Pendrill (who attended him all along) to the White-Ladies, to enquire for the King, and to give him notice of the conveniency that was at Mr. Whitgrave's; but, when he came thither, which was on Friday, the King was then gone to Madely, to Mr. Wolfe's. The next day he was sent again, and Richard's wife directed him to Boscabel, where he delivered the King his message, which the King assented unto, and resolved to remove thither.

Monday night, September the eighth, at eleven at night, was the time appointed for the King's progress to Mosely, but a horse was hard to be found. John was ordered to borrow one of one Stanton of Hatton, but he had lent his out before; when the Colonel remembered that Humphry the miller had one, and he thereupon was called and desired to lend him for the King's service: it was a kind of war-horse, that had carried many a load of provision, and such like, but now he put upon him a bridle and saddle, that had outworn his tree and irons, and at the time prefixed, brought him to the gate.

As soon as the King had notice of it, out he came, and would have had none but Colonel Careless and John to have gone along with him; but they told him, it was dangerous to venture himself with so few: they therefore entreated his Majesty, that he would give them leave to go with them, which, at their importunity, he granted.

Having mounted the King, Colonel Careless and the

six brethren guarding him, two before and two behind, and one of each side, armed with clubs and bills, Humphry, leading his horse by the bridle, they began their journey. It was five miles from Boscabel to Mosely, Mr. Whitgrave's, and the way in some places miry, where the horse blundering, caused the King to suspect falling, and bid Humphry have a care; to which he answered, "That that now fortunate horse had carried many a heavier weight in his time, six strike of corn, (which measure the King understood not,) but now had a better price on his back, the price of three kingdoms, and therefore would not now shame his master."

Their travel was soon and safe ended, and the King brought the back-way to a stile that led to the house; Humphry led the horse into a ditch, and the King alighted off upon the stile; but (forgetting that most of his guard were to return home) was gone five or six steps onward, without taking leave of them, but, recalling himself, returned back and said, "I am troubled that I forgot to take my leave of my friends; but if ever I come into England, by fair or foul means, I will remember you, and let me see you, whenever it shall so please God:" so they all departed, but the Colonel, John, and Francis Yates, who guided the King to the house.

Their master, Thomas Whitgrave, received the King dutifully and affectionately, and brought him in to my Lord Wilmot, who with infinite gladness, kneeled down and embraced his knees. After a little conference, his Majesty was had to his lodging, and the intrigues of it shewn him; where, after the King had rested himself that night, they entered into consultation about the escape, which had been projected by my Lord Wilmot before.

Francis Yates departed, but John staid two or three days longer with the King, while he went away. On Wednesday noon a troop of the rebels' horse passed

through the town, and made no stay ; which John told not the King, till afternoon, because (as he then said) he would not spoil his Majesty's dinner.

Now the King prepared and fitted himself for his journey, and one Mr. Huddleston and Mr. Whitgrave accommodated him with boots, cloke, money, &c. and John Pendrill was sent to Mrs. Lane about it, who sent him back again with a parcel of leaves of walnuts, boiled in spring-water, to colour his Majesty's hands, and alter the hue and whiteness of his skin in those parts, that were most obvious to the eye ; and by him gave notice to the King what time he should be ready.

On Thursday night, the eleventh of September, Colonel Lane came with his sister to a field adjoining, and there they put the King before her, John having the honour to hold the King's stirrup, while he mounted ; and presently they two set forward, having taken directions to know the country, and my Lady Lane having several recommendations to the allies, friends, and acquaintance of her family, that lay in their intended road, if any untoward occasion should put them to the trial.

The several adventures, which that heroical lady passed and overcame, in the management of that grand affair of his Majesty's life, will become and befit a worthier paper, and a nobler pen ; and therefore, let the blessed and thrice-happy event of that her fortunate loyalty restrain a curious enquiry of the means, which probably may be some *arcana imperii*, 'secrecy of state,' (now, as well as then,) of the King, not yet fit to be divulged. Miracles indeed of this benign and propitious influence are very rare ; God hath not dealt so with the nations round about us, especially, where human coadjutement (and that so signally) in the tacitness of so many persons concerned, hath been instrumental : and therefore, why may we not, as we fearfully behold comets, with delight look upon the serene smiles of Heaven, in his Majesty's preservation ;

and the rays of its goodness diffused into the breasts of those loyal persons, his guardians, for whose honour more especially this paper officiously obtrudes itself, with such weak eyes as we now see with, before we can have the benefit of a prospective (the full relation).

Let it therefore suffice and content us, that it pleased the Divine wisdom and goodness to protect and defend our most gracious Sovereign in all dangers, places, and conditions, whatsoever, in that his incumbered passage, through his own rightful dominions, and without the least umbrage of suspicion, to convey him out of the hands of his blood-thirsty traitorous enemies, who thought themselves sure of him, 'That so killing the heir, the inheritance might be theirs.'

He remained, or rather pilgrimaged from one sanctuary to another, in England, near the space of five weeks ; and like other princes (though not on the same account) was present *incognito*, while such time as a convenience of passage could be found for him in Sussex : where after he had embarked himself in a barque out of a creek, he was put back again by contrary weather into the same place, being disguised in a sailor's clothes ; but, the wind veering about more favourable, about the end of October, 1651, landed at Dieppe in Normandy, from whence an express was sent to her Majesty of England, to acquaint her of his safe arrival ; which was presently communicated to the French court, who, appearingly with great manifestation of joy, welcomed the news. But his Majesty's most affectionate uncle, the late Duke of Orleans, did with entire joy, as also sundry of the most eminent French nobility, congratulate his deliverance ; which they testified by a most splendid and honourable cavalcade, at his reception and entry into Paris.

XXXIII

A WARNING AGAINST GAMING

The Nicker Nicked : Or, the Cheats of Gaming discovered. The Third Edition. Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum. Licensed November 4, 1668. Printed in the Year 1669.

LEATHERMORE'S ADVICE CONCERNING GAMING.

GAMING is an enchanting witchery, begot betwixt idleness and avarice ; which has this ill property above all other vices, that it renders a man incapable of prosecuting any serious action, and makes him unsatisfied with his own condition : he is either lifted up to the top of mad joy with success, or plunged to the bottom of despair by misfortune ; always in extremes, always in a storm.

Hannibal said of Marcellus, that *nec bonam, nec malam ferre potest*, i.e. ' he could be quiet neither conqueror nor conquered.' Thus (such is the itch of play) gamesters neither winning, nor losing, can rest satisfied ; if they win, they think to win more ; if they lose, they hope to recover.

One propounded this question, ' Whether men, in ships at sea, were to be accounted amongst the living or the dead ; because there were but few inches betwixt them and drowning ? ' The same query may be made of great gamesters, though their estates be never so considerable, Whether they are to be esteemed poor or rich ; since there are but a few casts at dice, betwixt a person of fortune (in that circumstance) and a beggar ?

But speculation in this particular will not be convincing, unless we shew somewhat of the modern practice ; we must therefore lay our scene at the Ordinary, and proceed to our action.

Betwixt twelve and one of the clock, a good dinner is prepared by way of ordinary, and some gentlemen of civility and condition oftentimes eat there, and play a while for recreation after dinner, both moderately, and most commonly without deserving reproof.

Towards night, when ravenous beasts usually seek their prey, there come in shoals of hectors, trepanners, gilts, pads, biters, prigs, divers, lifters, kidnappers, vouchers, mill-kens, piemen, decoys, shop-lifters, foilers, bulkers, droppers, gamblers, donnakers, cross-biters, &c. under the general appellation of rooks; and in this particular it serves as a nursery for Tyburn, for every year some of this gang march thither! One Millard was hanged in April 1664, for burglary; and others since.

When a young gentleman or apprentice comes into this school of virtue, unskilled in the quibbles and devices there practised, they call him a lamb; then a rook (who is properly the wolf) follows him close, and engages him in advantageous bets, and at length worries him, that is, gets all his money, and then they smile and say, 'The lamb is bitten.'

Of these rooks, some will be very importunate to borrow money of you, without any intention of repaying, or to go with you seven to twelve, half a crown, and take it ill if they are refused; others watch, if, when you are serious at game, your sword hang loose behind, and lift that away; others will not scruple, if they espy an opportunity, directly to pick your pocket; yet, if all fail, some will nim off the gold buttons of your cloak, or steal the cloak itself, if it lie loose; others will throw at a sum of money with a 'dry fist,' as they call it; that is, if they nick you, it is theirs; if they lose, they owe you so much, with many other quilllets: or, if you chance to nick them, it is odds they wait your coming out at night, and beat you as one Cock was served in June, 1664.

Blaspheming, drunkenness, and swearing, are here

so familiar, that civility is, by the rule of contrarieties, accounted a vice. I do not mean swearing, when there is occasion to attest a truth, but upon no occasion ; as, ‘ God damn me, how dost ? What a clock is it, by God ? ’ &c. Then, before two hours are at an end, some one who has been heated with wine, or made choleric with loss of his money, raises a quarrel, swords are drawn, and perhaps the boxes and candlesticks thrown at one another ; and all the house in a garboil, forming a perfect type of hell.

Would you imagine it to be true ? That a grave gentleman, well stricken in years, insomuch as he cannot see the pips of the dice, is so infatuated with this witchery, as to play here with others’ eyes ; of whom this quibble was raised, ‘ That Mr. — such a one plays at dice by the ear.’ Another gentleman, stark blind, I have seen play at Hazard, and sure that must be by the ear too.

Late at night, when the company grows thin, and your eyes dim with watching, false dice are often put upon the ignorant, or they are otherwise cozened with topping, or slurring, &c. And, if you be not vigilant, the box-keeper shall score you up double or treble boxes, and, though you have lost your money, dun you as severely for it, as if it were the justest debt in the world.

There are yet some genteeler and more subtle rooks, whom you shall not distinguish by their outward demeanour from persons of condition ; and who will sit by, a whole evening, and observe who wins ; and then, if the winner be bubbleable, they will insinuate themselves into his acquaintance, and civilly invite him to drink a glass of wine ; wheedle him into play, and win all his money, either by false dice, as high fullams, low fullams, 5, 4, 2, s. &c. ; or by palming, topping, knapping, or slurring ; or, in case he be past that classis of ignoramusses, then by crossbiting, or some other dexterity, of which they have variety unimaginable.

Note by the way, that when they have you at the tavern, and think you a sure bubble, they will many times purposely lose some small sum to you the first time, to engage you more freely to *bleed* (as they call it) at the second meeting, to which they will be sure to invite you.

A gentleman, whom ill fortune had hurried into passion, took a box and dice to a side-table, and there fell to throwing by himself ; at length swears with an emphasis,—‘ Damme, now I throw for nothing, I can win a thousand pounds ; but when I play for money, I lose my a—e.’

If the house find you free to the box, and a constant caster, you shall be treated below with suppers at night, and cawdle in the morning, and have the honour to be styled, ‘ A lover of the house,’ whilst your money lasts, which certainly will not be long ; for, as the *Lamia* destroyed men, under pretence of kindness, so it is here.

In a word, this course of life shall afford you so many affronts, and such a number of vexations, as shall, in time, convert both your soul and body into anguish ; and anguish, in some, has turned to madness. Thus one Bull, a young fellow, not many years since, had, by strange fortune, run up a very small sum to fifteen-hundred pounds, and put himself into a garb accordingly ; could not give over, played on, fortune turned, lost it all, run mad, and so died.

If what has been said, will not make you detest this abominable kind of life ; will the almost certain loss of your money do it ? I will undertake to demonstrate, that it is ten to one you shall be a loser at the year’s end, with constant play upon the square.—If then twenty persons bring two-hundred pounds a-piece, which makes four-thousand pounds, and resolve to play, for example, three or four hours a day, for a year ; I will wager the box shall have fifteen-hundred pounds of the money, and that eighteen of the twenty persons shall be losers.

I have seen (in a lower instance) three persons sit

down at Twelve-penny In and In, and each draw forty shillings a-piece ; and, in little more than two hours, the box has had three pounds of the money, and all the three gamesters have been losers, and laughed at for their indiscretion.

At an ordinary, you shall scarce have a night pass without a quarrel, and you must either tamely put up an affront, or else be engaged in a duel next morning, upon some trifling insignificant occasion, pretended to be a point of honour.

Most gamesters begin at small game, and, by degrees, if their money, or estates, hold out, they rise to great sums ; some have played first all their money, then their rings, coach and horses, even their wearing-clothes and perukes ; and then, such a farm ; and, at last, perhaps, a lordship. You may read in our histories how Sir Miles Partridge played at dice, with King Henry the Eighth, for Jesus Bells, so called, which were the greatest in England, and hung in a tower of St. Paul's church ; and won them ; whereby he brought them to ring in his pocket ; but the ropes afterwards caught about his neck, for, in Edward the Sixth's days, he was hanged for some criminal offences.

Consider how many persons have been ruined by play. Sir Arthur Smithouse is yet fresh in memory : he had a fair estate, which, in a few years, he so lost at play, that he died in great want and penury. Since that, Mr. Ba——, who was a clerk in the Six-Clerks office, and well cliented, fell to play, and won by extraordinary fortune two-thousand pieces in ready gold ; was not content with that, played on, lost all he had won, and almost all his own estate ; sold his place in the office, and at last marched off to a foreign plantation, to begin a new world with the sweat of his brow. For that is commonly the destiny of a decayed gamester, either to go to some foreign plantation, or to be preferred to the dignity of a box-keeper.

It is not denied, but most gamesters have, at one time

or other, a considerable run of winning, but (such is the infatuation of play) I could never hear of a man that gave over a winner, (I mean, to give over so as never to play again;) I am sure it is *rara avis* : for, if you once ‘break bulk,’ as they phrase it, you are in again for all. Sir Humphry Foster had lost the greatest part of his estate, and then (playing, as it is said, for a dead horse,) did, by happy fortune, recover it again; then gave over, and wisely too.

If a man has a competent estate of his own, and plays whether himself or another man shall have it, it is extreme folly : if his estate be small, then to hazard the loss even of that, and reduce himself to absolute beggary, is direct madness. Besides, it has been generally observed, that the loss of one hundred pounds shall do you more prejudice, in disquieting your mind, than the gain of two hundred pounds shall do you good, were you sure to keep it.

Consider also your loss of time, which is invaluable, and remember what Seneca says—*Nulla major est jactura, quam temporis amissio*.*

Lastly, consider the great damage the very watching brings to your health, and in particular to your eyes (for gamesters work most by night) confirmed by this distich :

*Allia, vina, Venus, fumus, faba, lumen et ignis,
Ista nocent oculis, sed vigilare magis.*

A penitent Sonnet, written by the Lord Fitz-Gerald † (a great Gamester) a little before his Death, which was in the Year 1580.

BY loss in play, men oft forget
The duty they do owe
To Him, that did bestow the same,
And thousand millions moe.

* The greatest loss is the loss of time.

† This Lord Fitzgerald, of Offalug, in Ireland, was the eldest son to the Earl of Kildare, and died at the age of twenty-one. The “penitent sonnet,”

I loath to hear them swear and stare,
 When they the *Main* have lost,
 Forgetting all the *Byes*, that wear
 With God and Holy Ghost.
 By *Wounds* and *Nails* they think to win,
 But truly 'tis not so ;
 For all their frets and fumes in sin,
 They moneyless must go.
 There is no wight, that us'd it more
 Than he that wrote this verse,
 Who cries *Peccavi* now, therefore,
 His oaths his heart do pierce.
 Therefore example take by me,
 That curse the luckless time
 That ever Dice mine eyes did see,
 Which bred in me this crime.
 Pardon me for that is past,
 I will offend no more
 In this most vile and sinful cast,
 Which I will still abhor.

or *cygnea oratio*, here inserted, was first printed among the epitaphs of Richard Stanyhurst, at the end of his strange version of the first four books of Virgil's *Æneid*, 1583 ; with a prose panegyric, and a metrical epitaph upon this profligate Lord, in English hexameters. See a further account of the book in *Censura Literaria*, vol. iv.

XXXIV

AFTER SEDGMOOR

*An Account of the Manner of taking the late Duke of Monmouth, &c.
By his Majesty's Command. London, Printed by B. G. for Samuel
Keeble, at the Turk's Head, over-against Fetter-lane, in Fleet-street,
1685.**

IMMEDIATELY after the defeat of the rebels at Bridgewater, on Monday the sixth of July instant, the late duke of Monmouth, late lord Grey, and the Brandenburg † fled; and, coming between Gillingham and Shaftsbury, got a guide to lead them the way to the

* "After the defeat at Sedgemore Monmouth with his suite first directed his course towards the British Channel, and, as is related by Oldmixon, was once inclined, at the suggestion of Dr. Oliver, a faithful and honest adviser to embark for the coast of Wales, with a view of concealing himself some time in that principality. Lord Grey, who appears to have been, in all instances, his evil genius, dissuaded him from this plan, and the small party having separated, took each several ways. Monmouth, Grey, and a gentleman of Brandenburg, went southward, with a view to gain the New Forest in Hampshire, where, by means of Grey's connections in that district, it was hoped they might be in safety till a vessel could be procured to transport them to the continent. They left their horses, and disguised themselves as peasants; but the pursuit, stimulated as well by party zeal, as by the great pecuniary rewards offered for the capture of Monmouth and Grey, was too vigilant to be eluded. Grey was taken on the 7th in the evening (Q. morning?) and the German who shared the same fate early the next morning, confessed that he had parted from Monmouth but a few hours since. The neighbouring country was immediately and thoroughly searched and James had ere night the satisfaction of learning that his nephew was in his power. The unfortunate duke was discovered in a ditch, half concealed by ferns and nettles. His stock of provision, which consisted of some peas gathered in the fields through which he had fled, was nearly exhausted, and there is reason to think, that he had [had] little, if any other sustenance since he left Bridgewater on the evening of the fifth. To repose he had been equally a stranger; how his mind must have been harassed, it is useless to discuss. Yet that in such circumstances, he appeared dispirited and crest fallen, is, by the unrelenting malignity of party writers, imputed to him as cowardice and meanness of spirit." Fox's History of the Early Part of James the Second's Reign. 4to. 1808.

† A German count whom the duke had brought with him out of Holland.

New Forest, most free from towns and watches. He led them by White-Sheet, four miles east of Shaftsbury and thence by Cranborne-Chase ; where their horses being tired, they let them loose, and hid their bridles and saddles.

In the mean time, the news of the said defeat coming to the lord Lumley, (then posted at Ringwood in Hampshire, with three troops of horse of colonel Stapley's regiment, commanded by major Bridger, captain Monk, and captain Peckham ; and four companies of foot, of colonel Alford's regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Cooper, captain Bickley, captain Best, and captain Carre ; all of the Sussex militia,) his lordship was pleased to send his scouts every way to take up suspected persons : and sir William Portman, for the same end, had taken care for strong watches to be set, made up of his yellow-coats and others, on the roads from Poole to the most northern parts of Dorset.

Upon the seventh instant, about five in the morning, some of the lord Lumley's said scouts (riding in the road, near Holt-Lodge in Dorset, four miles west of Ringwood) just at the turn of a cross-way, surprised and seized two suspected persons ; which, when the lord Lumley came up, proved to be the late lord Grey and the said guide. This put the lord Lumley upon a strict examining of the cottages, with which that heathy country abounds, and calling in the neighbourhood, that were acquainted with the country, &c. Notice of this being brought to sir William Portman, by some of his watches, &c. he hastened to the place, with as many horse and foot, as he could of a sudden get together.

It happened, upon the lord Lumley's inquiry amongst the cottages, that a poor woman, one Amy Farrant, directed his lordship to a hedge, where she had seen two men go over ; which hedge proved to be part of the out-bounds of very many inclosed grounds, some overgrown by fern and brakes, and others sown with

rye, pease, or oats, &c. Whereupon a strict guard was put very near one another, round those outbounds whilst other foot and horse did beat within. These guards kept their several posts so well, that, though the late duke and the Brandenburg attempted, at least thirty times, to make their escape out, yet they always found each guard ready ; and, upon their last attempt to escape, two of the troopers, firing on them, made them immediately to retire, and hide themselves a-part from each other, in some of the adjacent ditches, where they were afterwards found.

Upon the eighth day, by five of the clock in the morning, the Brandenburg was found ; who, upon examination, confessed, that he parted with the said late duke, within the same out-bounds, about one of the clock that morning. Whereupon, every individual person, being encouraged thereby, and by the hopes of having a share in the five thousand pounds (as was before agreed on in the field) did renew the pursuit of him with the strictest search and diligence imaginable ; and, about seven of the clock of the same morning, one Henry Parkin, servant to Samuel Rolles, esq ; happened to discover the said late duke hid in a ditch, covered with fern and brakes, and, calling to two of the Sussex troopers that were by him, all three seized him together. Sir William Portman, happening to be near that place, rid presently in ; and quieted those that cried, “ Shoot him ! shoot him ! ” He laid hands on him, as his prisoner, and so preserved him from all violence and rudeness ; and immediately, in the same instant, the lord Lumley came in, and agreed, that sir William Portman should search him : which was done, and as soon as they had found his George, they dispatched that, with the news, to his Majesty, by captain Bickely and Mr. Chaldecot, Sussex and Dorset gentlemen.

The prisoners, after this, were kept two nights at Ringwood. On Friday the lord Lumley discharged the

foot there, and, with the said three troops of the Sussex horse, and one troop of the Dorset militia, commanded by captain Fownes, they were conveyed to Winchester, where joined them two troops of his Majesty's in pay, and two of the Northampton militia troops; all which conducted them to Farnham-castle upon Saturday the 11th, and the next day to Guilford, and upon Monday the 13th to Vaux-hall, where a regiment of the lord Dartmouth's received them, with other troops of his Majesty's in pay; and thence, by barge, they were carried to Whitehall.

The papers and books, that were found on him, are since delivered to his Majesty. One of the books was a manuscript of spells, charms, and conjurations, songs, receipts, and prayers; all written with the said late duke's own hand. Two others were manuscripts of fortification and the military art. And a fourth book, fairly written, wherein are computes of the yearly expence of his Majesty's navy and land-forces.

And, as for his gold, only twenty guineas were given to the said Parkin, and ten guineas a-piece to the two troopers that first seized him; and the rest was returned to the said late duke.

As the prisoners passed through Rumsey, Winchester, Farnham, and Guilford, one would admire to see the very great numbers of the militia, with the deputy-lieutenants, and gentlemen of those parts, that were ready to guard them, and take off the fatigue of such as were on the march.

Within doors, none but commission officers were trusted to watch by them: and besides those, the lord Lumley and sir William Portman took their turns to watch in person, night and day, from the time of the taking of the said late duke, until they had delivered him safe at Whitehall, from whence he was conveyed to the Tower.

XXXV

HUMAN NATURE ON THE SCAFFOLD

THE Miscellany records many extraordinary deaths on the scaffold. One pamphlet tells of the execution of John Spotswood, concerned in the rising for which the famous James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, suffered. "This young gentleman," says the narrator, "on his knees, ready to lay his head on the block, had these self-same following words ; ' O Lord ! who hast been graciously pleased to bring me through the wilderness of this world, I trust at this time, thou wilt waft me over the sea of blood to thy heavenly Canaan.' To which heavenly ejaculation, a minister, standing by, replied, ' Take tent, take tent, sir ; that you drown not by the gate : ' an expression sufficient to have distracted an ordinary soul, but our Christian Martyr answered, ' He hoped he was no Egyptian ; ' which he delivered with such christian modesty, that the lout stole away in the crowd, being confounded."

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Archbishop Laud, that very much hated man, seems to have made a good end on Tower Hill. The account which follows is given as printed from "The Archbishop of Canterbury's Speech. . . . All faithfully written by John Hinde, whom the Archbishop beseeched that he would not let any Wrong be done him by any Phrase in false Copies, &c."

When he had finished his prayer, he gave his paper to Dr. Sterne, saying, " Doctor, I give you this, that you may shew it to your fellow-chaplains, that they may see how I am gone out of the world ; and God's

blessing and his mercy be upon them." Then, turning to master Hinde, he said, "Friend, I beseech you hear me ; I cannot say I have spoken every word, as it is in my paper ; but I have gone very near it, to help my memory as well as I could : but, I beseech you, let me have no wrong done me."

Hinde. "Sir, you shall not ; if I do any wrong, let it fall on my own head. I pray, God have mercy on your soul."

Cant. "I thank you. I did not speak with any jealousy, as if you would do so ; but I spoke it only as a poor man, going out of the world : it is not possible for me to keep to the words in my paper, and a phrase may do me wrong. I did think here would have been an empty scaffold, that I might have had room to die. I beseech you, let me have an end of this misery, for I have endured it long."

When room was made, he spoke thus : "I will pull off my doublet, and God's will be done, I am willing to go out of the world ; no man can be more willing to send me out, than I am willing to be gone."

Sir John Clothworthy. "What special text of Scripture now is comfortable to a man in his departure ?"

Cant. "*Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo.*"

Sir John Clothworthy. "That is a good desire ; but there must be a foundation for that desire, as assurance."

Cant. "No man can express it ; it is to be found within."

Sir John Clothworthy. "It is founded upon a word though, and that word would be known."

Cant. "That word is the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and that alone."

And turning to the executioner, he gave him money, saying, "Here, honest friend, God forgive thee, and do thy office upon me in mercy."

The executioner desiring him to give some sign, when he should strike : he answered, "Yes, I will ; but let me fit myself first."

Then, kneeling down on his knees, he prayed thus:—
 LORD, I am coming as fast as I can, I know I must pass through the shadow of death, before I can come to see thee; but it is but *umbra mortis*, a mere ‘shadow of death,’ a little darkness upon nature; but thou, by thy merits and passion, hast broke through the jaws of death. So, Lord, receive my soul, and have mercy upon me; and bless this kingdom with peace, and with plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effusion of Christian blood amongst them, for Jesus Christ’s sake, if it be thy will.

And when he said, “Lord, receive my soul!” which was his sign, the executioner did his office.

Less dignified was the end of Robert Drewrie, a Jesuit priest, condemned for refusing allegiance to James I. This unfortunate and another received the dreadful sentence common in earlier days:—“To bee conveyed thence to the place from whence they came, and there to be laid upon an hurddle, and so drawne to the place of execution, where they shoulde hang till they were half deade; then to have their secrets cut off, and with their intrailles throwne into the fire before their faces, their heads to be severed from their bodies, which severally should be devided into four quarters, and afterwards disposed at his Majestie’s pleasure; in mean while, the Lorde to take mercie upon their soules.”

“On the next morning, being Thursday,” the chronicle goes on, “an hurddle being brought to Newgate, Robert Drewrie, (hoping yet for life, and not thinking to die, as by the sequell it plainly appeared,) having put on, after the maner of the Benedictine fryers beyond the seas, a newe suit of aparrell, being made of black stufte, new shooes, stockings, and garters, and a black new stufte priest’s gown, or cassock, being buttoned downe before by loops and buttons, two and two together, to the verye foote; a new cornered cap

on his heade, and under it a fair wrought night-cap ; was, in this manner, drawne along to Tyborne, where being by the executioner prepared for death, he was brought up into the cart, and using such ydle speeches as he had don often before, that ‘ he dyed not for treason, but for his priesthooode ; ’ hee was willed to deal more justly, and not to abuse the world now at his death, in uttering that which was a manifest lie and untruth. He made answeare, that ‘ in all his life-time, he had not told a lie ; ’ and then, after a short pause, added ‘ not willingly.’ There were certain papers shewn at Tyborne, which had bin found about him, of very daungerous and traitorous nature. And amonge them also was his Benedictine faculty under seale, expressing what power and authority he had from the Pope, to make men, women, and children heere, of his order ; what indulgences and pardons he colde graunt them, both in this life, and for multitude of yeares after their death ; preserving them both from purgatory, and warranting their entrance (by the Pope’s keyes) into heaven. He confessed himselfe to be a Romaine Catholick, and a priest ; and desired all Romaine Catholickes to praye with him, and for him. And often looking about him, as hopinge there was some mercie for him, for feare appeared very plainely in him ; when he felt the cart go away under him, and his expectation to be deceived, he caught fast holde with his left hande on the halter about hys head, and very hardly was enforced to let it goe, but held so for a pretty while. If this were not an apparant hope of life, I refer it to better judgements then mine own. He hung till he was quite dead ; and afterwards his body was quartered.”

Also is recorded the even more undignified exit of John Story, a “ Roman Canonical doctor,” loathed during the reign of “ Bloody ” Mary for his severities against Protestants. “ Part of his severity was repaid,” we are told, “ for he was cut down so soon from the

gallows, that when the executioner began to quarter him, he rose up and gave him a blow on the ear ; but notwithstanding his sensibility, they proceeded to dismember him." Such an example of the will to live was truly remarkable in a man of seventy-four years of age.

Most of those who died for religion, however, seem to have gone to their deaths as to a feast. When we come to criminals proper—people such as murderers and highwaymen—we see how public executions, repugnant as they are now to civilised taste, must have fortified with their "limelight" the wretch thus enabled to draw on the last reserves of his vanity. Although many of them died brutishly or as cravenly as Dennis, the ex-hangman, whose miserable end is so vividly depicted by Dickens in "Barnaby Rudge," many took the opportunity (as we have seen in the case of Claud Duval) to satisfy the crowd with some devil-may-care and final exhibition of their prowess. There are also extraordinary examples less indicative of vanity than that ultimate and mysterious quality we call "human" ; cases in point being those of the man who, the rope being adjusted too tightly as he thought, indignantly asked, "Wouldst thou throttle me, villain ?" and the somewhat similar complaint of another who aggrievedly objected, "You're hurting me." But perhaps the most amazing illustration of all in this respect is provided by the last words of Mary Blandy, an eighteenth century young woman hanged for the murder of her father. "Gentlemen," she pleaded on ascending the ladder, "don't hang me too high, for the sake of decency" ! Verily, not only love is strong as death, as the Preacher says.

XXXVI

OLLA PODRIDA

NOR the least interesting part of the ten volumes through which I have browsed and extracted the matter for the present selection, is the "Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library" which takes up a third of Vol. X. of the 1808-13 edition. This catalogue—published originally in serial form when the 1745 edition appeared in weekly parts—gives brief synopses of many works omitted from the general body of the Miscellany and containing much lore, both instructive and entertaining, which but for the indefatigable Oldys might never have been thus usefully collected: the Harleian Library having been, in his own time and to his great sorrow, dispersed.

Here and there are scraps of information about Robert Greene which afford a better picture than we otherwise might have of the erratic poet who is famous for having objected to Shakespeare as "an upstart crow beautifying himself with our feathers." He died of a surfeit of pickled herrings and Rhenish wine on September 3, 1592. Thomas Nash, his friend, who afterwards defended his memory against an attack by Gabriel Harvey, reminded that author that had Greene been still living, he would have "driven thee to eat thy own book buttered; as I saw him make an Apparator once in a tavern eat his citation, wax and all, very handsomely served up betwixt two dishes." They were brave days! In our own there is an almost universal "buttering" of books, but not with a view to their being eaten. Oldys prints also a remarkable word-portrait of Chaucer from Greene's "Ode of the Vanity

of Wanton Writings," which, he says, "might proceed from something more authoritative than bare invention." Worth giving yet again, I fancy, it runs as follows :—

His stature was not very tall ;
 Leane he was ; his legs were small ;
 Hos'd within a stock of red ;
 A button'd bonnet on his head :
 From under which, did hang, I weene,
 Silver haire, both bright and sheene.
 His beard was white, and trimmed round ;
 His count'nance blithe, and merry found ;
 A sleevelesse jacket, large and wide,
 With many pleighes and skirtes side,
 Of water chamlet did he weare :
 A whittle by his belt he beare.
 His shooes were corned broad before ;
 His inkhorn at his side he wore ;
 And in his hand he bore a book ;
 Thus did this ancient Poet look.

Many records of great tempests, floods and frost, go to prove that the English of old were as interested in the weather as they are to-day. A 1608 report tells of the Thames being frozen over and of "Cold doings in London, except it be at the Lottery." This last, it seems, was organised by foreign adventurers. The highest prizes were pieces of plate worth a hundred and fifty pounds or so, the tickets costing a shilling apiece. "The doors were ever crowded, the rooms continually filled with people ; every mouth bawling out for lots, every hand stretched forth to snatch them." No change in human nature here, though the form is different ! Complaint is made that to one prize there were no less than forty blanks. Compared with the chances of modern lotteries it seems nothing to grumble at. There is also an unexpected account of an earthquake on April 6th, 1580, which shook not only

London, but most parts of England. A storm, too, in 1661, played a whimsical trick by blowing "solicitor Cook's head off from Westminster-Hall, and it might have been lost in the Thames; but it was carefully recovered and staked up again in the same place."

Remedies for the plague are given. Oldys regards as "a conjurer" one quack who preached in Bristol "against black patches or beauty spots, saying they were fore-runners of other spots, and marks of the plague; which soon after broke out there, and drove all the patched women out of the city." We read of this fashion being animadverted against in another pamphlet entitled "A Wonder of Wonders: or a Metamorphosis of Fair Faces; voluntarily transformed into Foul Visages, 1662." Patches of the time were cut into various shapes symbolical of this, that and the other, and "if anything was likely to discountenance and deter these fantastical affectations it was that story in Sir Kenelm Digby," who tells of a lady at court so "deeply moved at the sight of these new-spotted faces, that she was delivered of a daughter whose face was naturally so spotted or marked over with black patches."

Yet another reformer approves the prohibition of stamped Coffee-pence (presumably a cant term associated with small change and coffee-houses) under Charles II. The ancient penny, we read, "like a Good-Friday bun, had a cross stuck so deep into the midst of it, that you might break out any part of four, to buy what you had occasion for, which was in those times their farthing."

There were pamphlets against, or in favour of, anything and everything, anybody and everybody, in those days. In the Harleian collection alone the number of prints and pamphlets, according to Oldys, was computed at four hundred thousand! Cromwell must have had as many devoted to him as anybody. "A certain beast," says one writer (evidently a royalist!) "with a

triangular jesuitical head, a toting red nose, a long meagre face, red fiery eyes, iron-streaked on the sides ; a broad back, long runnagade legs, &c. . . . His face is the map of impudence, his nose the flaming beacon to raise a country to rebellion." John Milton, too, would not have felt particularly flattered by the description of himself as "that doubly blind bard, whose pen is reckoned among those which were pedantically florid." And, for one last example, and to end a book which might be continued indefinitely, there is the reminder to a certain lady that "she lately came from selling of oranges and lemons about the streets ; and now being advanced to a royal bed, forgets her mechanic condition."

Which was scarcely "the song the syrens sang," but, as with the purport of that song, the feelings of Mistress Nell Gwyn on its being brought to her notice, are "not beyond all conjecture."

FINIS

